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The Outlook

SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1905

Back to Harbin

The indications are that the Russian retreat will be continued until Harbin is reached, although some reports state that there will be an attempt to make a stand at a point about one hundred and fifty miles north of Tie Pass, and about the same distance from Harbin. Marshal Oyama himself was surprised that Tie Pass was abandoned by the Russians with very slight resistance, for this point is naturally the best suited for defense between Mukden and Harbin, and had been fortified extensively. All accounts agree that the blow to the Russian army at Mukden and in the pursuit that followed was crushing and disastrous. While no large part of General Kuropatkin's command was captured in a body, several small portions of it were cut off and captured or destroyed. One detachment at the extreme left of the Russian line is said to have been driven into the mountains and to be in desperate straits. The Russians lost enormous quantities of stores and ammunition, captured or destroyed by themselves in their flight, and as the expenditure of ammunition in the ten days' fighting in the Mukden region far surpassed anything which the world has ever known, it is clear that the remaining Russian stores of ammunition cannot be what is needed for another great battle. Naturally, the Japanese are elated, and are carrying on the pursuit with spirit and vigor, using the great masses of supplies accumulated during the winter. They had outflanked the Russian position at Tie Pass before its capture, and for a time it looked as if large bodies of the Japanese had cut the railroad north of General Kuropatkin. At the present writing, however, it seems probable that the Russians will withdraw what remains of their army in safety to Harbin, or to the point they may choose for a new base of concentration. No doubt they will tear up the railroad as they go, and this may retard the Japanese advance over the three hundred miles between Mukden and Harbin, but not seriously, for the Japanese have already shown themselves to be the most rapid and efficient railroad-builders in the world. Military critics agree that it is impossible for the Russians to gather a new army at Harbin of sufficient size to face Marshal Oyama this year with any chance of success. The railroad has long been overtaxed, and is in danger of breaking down altogether. Russian sympathizers can find room for hope only in the possibility of a naval victory by Admiral Rojesvensky. The report that his fleet had left Madagascan waters seems to be true, but whether it is on its return to Europe or is moving forward to the Far East is not certain, although the general belief seems now to incline to the latter theory. Rojesvensky has over twenty battle-ships and cruisers, and his force is therefore at least theoretically much superior to Admiral Togo's. On the other hand, it is admitted that the Japanese are infinitely superior in the skill of men and officers, to say nothing of their actual war experience. A strong Japanese squadron, probably under Admiral Togo, is known to be cruising south of Singapore, over two thousand miles from Japan, evidently with the hope of intercepting Admiral Rojesvensky if he attempts to pass either the Straits of Malacca or the Straits of Sunda on his way to Vladivostok, his probable destination if he goes East at all.

❀

The New Russian Commander

It is an almost unheard of thing that a general in command of a great army should be superseded immediately after a defeat and while he is still endeavoring to rally his forces. This is what has happened to General Kuropatkin. Despite the fact that he has won

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no great battle nor any engagement of consequence against the Japanese, there is a feeling that General Kuropatkin is not as blameworthy as might appear without reflection. It has never been denied that his judgment and advice have again and again been thwarted by direct orders from the War Office at St. Petersburg. Notably was this the case when he was forced to detach a large part of his army and send it south in the impossible hope of relieving Port Arthur, or perhaps of distracting the Japanese commanders by a feint at so doing—a maneuver that resulted disastrously. It has been understood that General Kuropatkin from the very beginning has favored the plan of retreating gradually as the Japanese advanced, with no more resistance than was needed to keep them in check, and of avoiding a decisive action until a really overwhelming force had been gathered at Harbin or elsewhere. The discredited Viceroy, Alexiev, in his ignorance of Japanese power, skill, and courage, evidently thought that almost any Russian force was able to cope with such an army as Japan could put in the field. The battle of the Yalu showed this to be a ridiculous fallacy; but the war party around the Czar needed to have the lesson repeated half a dozen times before they learned it, and now are glad to shift the burden of blame upon Kuropatkin's shoulders. On the other hand, Kuropatkin undoubtedly had his limitations, and did not entirely possess the confidence of his subordinates. This is very evident to those of our readers who remember what was said of Kuropatkin in Mr. Kennan's article called "Russian Views of Kuropatkin and his Army." It will be remembered that in one of the letters from Russian officers quoted by Mr. Kennan not a little distrust of Kuropatkin was shown, and the writer added, "The army knows and loves only one general, and that is 'Papa' Linevich. No matter in what part of the army I have been, I have heard everywhere the words, 'If Papasha were only here!' He is the man whom both officers and soldiers trust, and with him they will take anything." It is General Linevich who has been selected to succeed General Kuropatkin, and the fact that in the recent battle, when the other Russian commands were disorganized and some of them in panic, General Linevich marched off his regiments in perfect order, no doubt had something to do with the choice. The new commander of the Russian land forces in Asia is sixty-five years old, and has been fighting since he was twenty-one. He took part in the war with Turkey in 1877–8, was prominent in the relief of the Legations at Peking, was for a time Governor-General of the Amur district, and later on had command of the Russian forces at Vladivostok. He has been in action in the present war time and again, has shared the hardships of his men, and has looked after their welfare in a most praiseworthy way. In the battle of Mukden he was reported as having repulsed thirteen consecutive attacks of the Japanese in one day, and a week later, under orders, he marched north, as the despatches put it, "with music playing, the men singing, and scarcely a straggler lost in the long and difficult march."

❀

Russian Finances The chief subject of discussion during the past week touching the situation in Russia has been the financial question. The heavy indebtedness of Russia to France was commented upon in these columns last week. The Russian Government proposed to become an additional debtor to French investors to the extent of one hundred millions of dollars. This loan the French bankers have declined to finance, a fact which is regarded as significant of the growing apprehension of French investors in regard to the outcome of events in Russia. In France, as in this country, there is the greatest friendliness for and the deepest interest in the Russian people; but it has been impossible for the French Government to hold in check the sharp criticism of the Russian Government both by the French press and French public men. France remains loyal to her old ally; but it is evident that a great number of the French people disapprove of the autocracy as thoroughly as Americans disapprove of that antiquated, inefficient,

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and tyrannical system of misgovernment. That the French Ministers have in any way interfered in the financial transaction between the Russian Government and French bankers is improbable; but so important a step as the refusal to loan an additional one hundred millions can hardly have been taken without the knowledge and to a certain extent the consent of the Ministry. Acting from motives of the sincerest friendship for Russia, the French Ministry may very well have indicated its willingness to allow the bankers to treat the question from a purely financial point of view; for any influence which can be brought to bear upon Russia to persuade her to accept peace will be an expression of the truest friendship for that country. That Russia has reached the end of her financial resources is by no means a fact. The Government is now proposing to secure the additional one hundred millions from her own people, and will probably have very little difficulty in doing so; but her resources have been severely strained, and another year of war on the scale upon which it has been waged during the last twelve months would bring about a financial crisis. The Russian Minister of Finance is reported to have said some months ago, "The war with Japan will be won at this desk." That was what the world thought probable at the beginning of the struggle; but in finance, as in equipment, commissary support, prevision, fighting qualities, and strategy, the Japanese have so far shown themselves superior to the Russians.

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The Labor Question in Hawaii

An interesting, and to most an unexpected, disclosure of the so-called Japanese "yellow peril," as it is supposed to menace Hawaii, is made by a correspondent of the New York "Evening Post," writing from Honolulu under date of February 28. The correspondent states that the sugar-planters there would like to supplant Japanese labor by the introduction for ten years of thirty thousand Chinese coolies under an indenture labor system, one apparently similar to that by which the mine-owners have introduced Chinese coolies into the Transvaal. According to the correspondent, the Japanese leave the work in the cane-fields, for which they originally emigrate to Hawaii, and which white men will not do, in order to compete with the whites in the skilled trades and in business. Owing to their numbers, the Japanese "are actually gaining control of one line of industry after another," and "in spite of their political disability" are "Japanizing the country." These planters look forward to a time, after the growth of another generation shall have removed political disabilities for the Japanese born on American soil, when they will outnumber the whites, and secure both political and industrial control of the islands. So great does this menace seem that the planters are ready to strike a bargain with organized labor, in order to obtain from Congress permission to introduce Chinese coolies. Last July Governor Carter appointed a committee of investigation, composed of three representatives of the Builders' and Traders' Exchange and of three representatives of the Trades and Labor Council. The report in favor of the introduction of coolies, just completed, is as yet unsigned by the three representatives of organized labor. To secure their signatures the planters propose, the correspondent states, to agree with organized labor to a system of arbitration for all strike difficulties; to the exclusion of Orientals from all skilled or semi-skilled positions on plantations, and to expending $25,000, under the direction of the unions, to induce white immigration, the amount to be increased should the scheme prove successful. At this distance it seems most doubtful whether the support of organized labor can be bought even on such favorable terms. But whatever the outcome in Hawaii, the correspondent's statements are most interesting as in part explaining hostility to the Japanese existing on the Pacific coast. The California Legislature has passed a joint resolution favoring restricted Japanese immigration. Hostility to a race because of their skill and efficiency, and a concerted effort to replace immigrants of high intelligence by others of a lower

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grade of ability and character, indicate, it seems to us, not a "yellow peril" but a white one—the peril of bigoted commercialism. The dangers of the importation of Chinese coolie labor on a basis of serfdom are shown by the experience of England in South Africa.

❀

Coolie Labor on the Rand

From recent English and South African newspapers The Outlook has collected some remarkable testimony as to the working of the Chinese coolie ordinance on the Rand. This testimony comes from newspapers as far apart geographically and as widely differing in opinion on the Balfour Government's Chinese policy as the Manchester "Guardian" and the Natal "Witness," a morning paper published at Maritzburg, the political capital of Natal. And the significant fact about this testimony is that none of it is from the editorial columns either of the Manchester "Guardian," which is opposed to the Chinese compound system, or of the Natal "Witness," which, with all other Maritzburg and Durban papers, was a thick-and-thin supporter of Lord Milner and the labor policy on the Rand for which the late High Commissioner is responsible. The quotations are from the news columns, and obviously were not written as contributions to the Chinese controversy, which is still disturbing both England and all the South African colonies. The "Guardian" quotation is from a home letter of an officer in the mercantile marine who is now engaged in transporting Chinese coolies to Durban, where, closely guarded, they are shipped by rail to Johannesburg. "This," he writes, "is a horrid trade, and the sooner I am out of it the better. We have just had two thousand coolies on board, and on a long voyage through the tropics things are just indescribable, for the Chinaman is not the cleanest human who walks the earth. We had a lot of bad characters in the batch we have just landed, who gave us no end of trouble on board. The Mandarins up north are sending many of their dangerous element to the recruiting depots, and get so much a head for them, and glad enough they are to get rid of them so easily." The second quotation is from a news-letter of the Johannesburg correspondent of the Natal "Witness," describing an outbreak of Chinamen at the Glen Deep mine. "The coolies at this mine," he writes, "are mostly recent arrivals, and have been very troublesome. They have taken a great dislike to the mine manager, who, I am told, dare not go into the Chinese compound except with a body-guard of police. This manager's house resembles a fort, being surrounded with barbed-wire entanglements in case the coolies try to rush it, yet the manager is by no means severe." In the "Witness" of the same date there is the usual weekly survey of local trade, in which occurs the statement, written apropos of the existing commercial depression in Maritzburg, that "it is noticeable that many Maritzburg tradesmen are far less enthusiastic as to the importation of Chinese for the Rand than they were." "The Chinese," it is added, "were looked upon as saving the situation and stemming the depression throughout South Africa. Although there are many thousands now on the Rand, the depression has in some ways become more acute than it was prior to their advent." Six months ago the Manchester "Guardian" published a letter from a Lancashire miner on the Rand which stated that with the coming of the Chinese there had been a falling off in the number of skilled white men employed below ground. This was due to the fact that with the cheap coolie labor the mine managers dispensed with power drills, which must be superintended by white miners, a fact which quite recently has been corroborated by the "Westminster Gazette." In view of all this light on labor conditions on the Rand, it is not surprising that the Balfour Government had a majority of only twenty-four on the recent vote in the House of Commons on the Chinese labor question.

❀

An English Municipal Express Service

Among the large English municipalities Manchester is now leading in its street-car service. There was a time, in the now remote

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period when Mr. Chamberlain was more interested in municipal achievement than in Empire, when Birmingham led the way in all municipal enterprises; and for two decades it gave a really valuable example to all other English municipalities, and showed what was possible in municipal development. But Birmingham's street-car system is still in the hands of a dividend-earning company; so that Birmingham has no opportunity of giving a lead in this newest phase of English municipal enterprise. The lead has gone to Manchester, and to Manchester must be given credit for the organization of a municipal express service which is now being worked on an extensive scale. It is applicable to parcels up to one hundred and twelve pounds in weight, which are collected and delivered not only within the wide municipal boundaries of Manchester, but also in large industrial towns such as Bury and Rochdale, which are ten miles distant from Manchester, and are connected with the city by the inter-municipal street-car service. Fifteen outlying towns come within the new service, and practically every village and town which can be reached from Manchester by the street-cars is included. The central receiving house for parcels is in the heart of the city, and there are twenty-six other depots in the outlying parts of Manchester and in the neighboring towns and villages. At the central depot parcels are received over the counter, and there are collecting wagons which call at warehouses, offices, and stores. At each of the depots messengers are employed to deliver parcels, and one hundred and twenty storekeepers along the street-car routes act as receiving agents. Whenever it is expedient, and generally in cases where parcels do not exceed twenty-eight pounds in weight and delivery is urgent, the parcels go by the ordinary street-cars. Heavier parcels and accumulations go by special freight-cars. Charges are fixed according to weight and distance, commencing at four cents, and in all cases the service includes delivery to the consignee. These charges are on a much lower scale than even those of the parcels post, and the maximum weight is much greater. The city had to obtain Parliamentary powers for this new departure. The railway companies, the carriers, and the team-owners appeared before Parliamentary committees in opposition, urging that the municipality was invading their province. But the ratepayers in Manchester had indorsed by their vote the city's application for the new powers, and these were accordingly granted. The city has had control of the street-cars for only about three years. It took the car lines over when the system was electrified; but already the greatly improved car service is telling on the social and domestic life of Manchester. Restaurateurs are complaining that their business is dwindling, owing to the fact that the greatly accelerated street-car service is enabling business men who formerly went to restaurants to go to their homes for their midday meals. The Ship Canal, in which as a municipality Manchester is the dominant partner, is now gradually improving and strengthening its position. In 1904 the net increase in earnings was over $100,000, and the sea-borne inward and outward traffic aggregated 3,618,000 tons, as compared with 686,000 tons in 1894, when the Canal first came into service.

❀

Revival of the Separate Schools Question in Canada

Since the introduction of the bill for the autonomy of two new Provinces in the Canadian Northwest, the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier has met with strong opposition in Parliament and loud complaints from all parts of Canada by reason of the educational clause which, in the opinion of its critics, perpetuates in favor of Roman Catholics in the two Provinces a system of separate schools. Not only his political opponents, but members of his Cabinet and some of his supporters in the House of Commons, were against the Canadian Premier. Mr. Clifford Sifton, his Minister of the Interior, has resigned, and the Minister of Finance and the Postmaster-General are said to be about to resign. The objections against separate schools in the two Provinces, which, as pointed out in our issue of March 11, have an area of 550,345 square miles, have a legal and political

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as well as a social aspect. It is urged that the subject of education is properly a provincial one; that the new Provinces do not come within that provision of the Canadian Confederation Act of 1867 by which the original Provinces were to retain the separate school systems then existing; and it is argued incontrovertibly that the establishment of a dual system over vast areas of a mixed population would draw mischievous lines of social and religious cleavage. Petitions have been sent in that object to the educational clause, though loyally accepting the rest of the bill; and the Conservative opposition has found such a valuable weapon in the situation that the bill will not be pressed without reconsidering the whole question. Sir Wilfrid Laurier a few days ago announced that the Government would try to amend the educational clause so as to satisfy the whole country, and for the time being his critics are waiting to see how he will meet the difficulties of his position. The point at issue is whether the Dominion Government has any obligation or authority to perpetuate in the two Provinces the separate school laws existing in the Northwest Territories out of which the Provinces were carved, the contention of the Liberal and English-speaking Canadians being, as a rule, that the provinces should come into the federation with full liberty to regulate their schools as they see fit. There is no doubt that the Provinces do not want separate schools, and that they resent federal interference in forcing such schools upon them.

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Light from the Manitoba Case

Sir Wilfrid Laurier would be inconsistent if he persisted in thwarting the wishes of the Provinces. In 1896 he opposed and defeated a plan of federal interference somewhat similar to that which he is now charged with supporting. The Manitoba schools question, which was discussed more or less throughout the continent, was settled only by referring back to that Province the direction of its own schools, and there is no other satisfactory way of settling the present difficulty. To Americans the duty of the Canadian Government seems so plain and simple that it hardly needs to be pointed out; but the political pressure of the French-Canadians, who number more than a third of the population of the Dominion, has compelled a hesitating attitude on more than one occasion of this kind. Sir Wilfrid's intention to reconsider his position will doubtless be influenced by his fellow-countrymen of the Province of Quebec; but he braved the wrath of the Catholic hierarchy there eight years ago successfully, and it is certain that he will do so again if the bishops attempt to dictate to him. He has stronger reasons for standing firm now than he had when the Manitoba schools question was settled. Although separate schools were legally abolished under that settlement, certain concessions as to religious teaching were made to the Catholic minority, and these would prevent the school system in force there being considered free and secular as we understand it. For that reason it is of importance to Canada and of practical interest to this country that the educational future of the two Provinces, and of the additional Provinces which will be created out of the vast area of the Canadian Northwest, should be assured as free in the proper sense of the term.

❀

A Pernicious Special Tax

All just men and all men interested in the welfare of the State of New York as a whole ought earnestly to oppose a special tax bill which has been introduced into the Legislature of the State. This bill, known as Senate Bill No. 346, provides for the levying of a special tax upon all sales or transfers of shares of stock of corporations made hereafter in this State. The amount of the tax is two dollars upon every hundred shares of stock. It is generally understood that the leaders of the Republican majority in the Legislature are in favor of this bill and that the Governor is inclined to support it, and it is likely to be passed and signed unless a vigorous protest is made throughout the State. It seems to The Outlook that there are two strong grounds for such a protest. First, the tax will be a serious blow to impor-

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tant financial interests of New York City, and it is almost axiomatic that what injures New York City injures the rest of the State by reflection. Whatever may be said in criticism of over-speculation on the New York Stock Exchange, it must be admitted by everybody who looks at the facts that without the regulating influence of the Exchange the stability and supremacy of New York as a financial center would be seriously threatened. Over-speculating in cotton is a bad thing, but cotton is a commodity, and it is a good thing to have an exchange regulated by honorable men where cotton may be sold and bought at a legitimate market price. So legitimate railway, industrial, mining, and bank stocks represent actual commodities, and the whole banking system of the State, with its opportunity for saving and thrift, rests to a large extent upon the stability of the New York Stock Exchange. A tax of two dollars for every hundred shares sold or transferred on the floor of the Exchange is, in the opinion of experts, likely to drive the legitimate trade in stocks out of the State to Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, or Montreal. This in turn will seriously affect the banks of the city, and therefore the banks throughout the State who are their correspondents. Those legislators and citizens in other parts of the State who say, "Let us tax New York stock-brokers; they are rich and can afford to pay what we demand, and we can have the money for road and bridge improvements," overlook the fact that in the last analysis they are most seriously taxing themselves. For a serious financial injury to New York is an injury to customers, borrowers, investors, and depositors throughout the entire State. The second objection to the bill is even yet more serious. If it is passed and this tax on trading in stocks is established, a precedent will be established at the same time which is exceedingly dangerous to all forms of industry. It is an elementary principle of economics that wealth should be taxed but energy never. Those countries that tax energy or industry inevitably tax themselves into poverty. On a purely selfish basis every State ought to encourage industry in order that wealth may be produced from which taxes may be raised. If stock-selling may be taxed, then dry-goods selling, prescription-compounding, the obtaining of subscriptions by newspapers, the selling of milk or cattle or any other agricultural produce, may be taxed. No tax upon industry or energy ought to be submitted to except in times of great exigency, and then it ought to bear equally upon all parts of the country, as, for instance, in the case of the Federal taxation of stock certificates during the Spanish War. Those merchants or farmers, if any such there are, who now look with indifference on this attempt unjustly to reach the pockets of the stock-broker, would feel quite differently if the tax were laid upon every hundred yards of cotton cloth or silk velvet, or every hundred pounds of prime butter, which they sold. The Outlook opposes Senate Bill No. 346 because it is likely in the end to do quite as much harm to the "up the State counties" as it does to New York City.

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More Vandalism Mr. Alton D. Adams begins an article in the current number of "Cassier's Magazine" with these words: "Niagara Falls are doomed. Children already born may yet walk dryshod from the mainland of the New York State Reservation to Goat Island across the present bed of the Niagara River," and recent accounts of the latest schemes at Albany seem to afford rational ground for this dismal prophecy. If the measures now engaging legislative attention are adopted, about one-fourth of the quantity of water which ought to flow, and without interference would flow, over Niagara Falls will be taken out of the river-bed and conducted by tunnels for the purpose of turning machinery. Twenty-two per cent. of the total flow of water at its mean level, according to the estimate of the New York "Sun," is already diverted, or will be diverted by power-houses in process of construction. It is a sad commentary on American civilization that these striking natural features, of inestimable value to the country and impossible of duplication, should be surrendered by a short-sighted,

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narrow-minded business policy to simple business uses. A desperate fight is necessary at every point to keep the hand of business off the most majestic works of Nature on this continent. But for a strenuous effort, the Palisades, which constitute one of the most notable features of the scenery of the lower Hudson, would now be turned into concrete; and unless another strenuous effort is made, Niagara Falls will become the relic of an age which was too stupid to understand their value. While we are engaged in destroying Niagara, the Victoria Falls in Southeastern Africa are being exploited as one of the wonders of the world, and every effort is being made to attract travel in that direction. To put it on the lowest possible plane, the Niagara Falls are of inestimable value to the State of New York simply as an attractive feature, just as the Rhine and the Alps are of inestimable value to Germany and Switzerland. People in this country have yet to learn not only the æsthetic but the commercial value of beauty. They have not yet grasped the idea that beauty is a great commercial asset, a possession the value of which increases year by year. The Falls, to which travelers have come from the earliest settlement of the continent, as to one of the greatest spectacles in the world, are to be set to do drudgery work for street railways and electric-light companies. Is the beauty which the Infinite Artist gave to America in trust for humanity to be sold for a farthing?

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North Carolina Child Labor; Education; State Bonds

The North Carolina Legislature, which lately adjourned, was notable for its attitude towards the questions of righteousness and morality that came before it. It did fail to take advanced ground on the child labor question, though the amendment that was proposed was not pressed beyond the Committee on Manufactures and Labor, which gave an unfavorable report. The present age limit is twelve years. The amendment proposed to raise the age limit to fourteen for girls, and for boys who cannot read and write. But the manufacturers opposed the amendment *en masse*, and as the present law had been in operation only one year and was a better law than that in South Carolina or Alabama, and as public sentiment had not been aroused on the question, action was postponed. It is generally agreed, however, that it is only postponement. The factory districts are keeping the State near the bottom of the illiteracy column, there being only twenty-five per cent. of the children of school age from the factory districts in attendance upon school, and in some districts the average is as low as eight and ten per cent. But as an offset to this failure to advance there was a corresponding refusal to recede from the performance of full duty toward the weaker race in the matter of education. There was some talk of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the State that would permit the division of the school fund between the white and negro races in the proportion in which each race contributed to the fund by taxation. But when opportunity was given to submit the question to the Democratic caucus, its sponsor failed to present it. Later there was an effort to allow either race in any school district to vote a special tax upon its own members for its own exclusive use. It was claimed that this bill was favored by Governor Glenn, but it received scant notice also, the House refusing to consider it before its being referred to the able Committee on Education, and the reference to that Committee resulted in its burial beyond resurrection. There will be no Vardamanism in North Carolina. Not long ago some New York brokers, with the aid and comfort furnished them by certain politicians of North Carolina, gave some North Carolina bonds to South Dakota. That State sued North Carolina for the face value of the bonds, and obtained a decision from the Supreme Court in its favor. But as an individual cannot sue a State, and as it is expensive to give away bonds in order to collect them, negotiations were opened with the State direct. These bonds were sold at a low price just after the war, but before the reconstruction orgies of extravagance began. They were compromised at twenty-five cents on the dollar in 1879,

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the creditors generally accepting that as a just settlement. The holders of some of the bonds, however, refused to settle on that basis then, but have agreed now to accept about the same award, plus the interest. The Legislature unanimously ratified the agreement made with these bondholders by the Governor, to the credit of the State and the satisfaction of the last of these ancient creditors, the amount to be paid aggregating a quarter of a million dollars.

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North Carolina: Divorce Reform; Gambling in Futures; Liquor Laws; Vagrancy, etc.

The Legislature swept from the statute-books all special divorce laws passed since 1883, and returned to the code of that year, which allows only the Scriptural cause for divorce and does not grant to the wife the privilege of obtaining a divorce for one breach of the marriage bond. An amendment to discard this iniquitous distinction between husband and wife was passed by the House, but killed in the Senate. That will come later. Meanwhile, easy and frequent divorces, which were becoming a scandal, are effectually prohibited. Gambling in cotton futures was another nuisance that this Legislature wiped out by a drastic law, which abolished bucket-shops and stock exchanges as well, forbidding all transactions in futures except those by manufacturers and wholesale merchants for their own protection. The Watts Law passed by the preceding Legislature wiped out the distilleries and saloons from the country districts, restricting them to incorporated towns, and giving such fair play for local option in the towns that the saloons have been driven from three-fourths of the counties of the State. This excellent law was supplemented at this session by the Ward Bill, which prohibits the manufacture of liquor in towns of less than a thousand people, its sale in towns having less than two policemen, and makes the possession of a United States license in prohibited territory *prima facie* evidence of guilt. The local dispensary at Raleigh was such an object-lesson in the resulting sobriety of the capital city that special acts were passed for dispensary elections at Winston and Asheville. An "anti-jug law" making the place of delivery the place of sale, and thus making the shipment of liquor from any point in North Carolina to another in prohibited territory unlawful, was passed; it applies to nearly all the prohibition counties of the State. A vagrancy law, similar to the one in Georgia, that sends the vampire parent of the cotton-mills who lives off the labor of his children, and the negro idler of the towns who is supported by the thievery of the woman cook, to work on the roads, is another act of this Legislature. Worthy of note also was the large majority by which all these measures were passed—about two to one. The temper and character of this Legislature are a sufficient justification of the Constitutional Amendment forbidding the suffrage to the illiterate negro, and to all illiterates after 1908. The State is in a prosperous condition and the public treasury is in good shape. The most liberal provisions ever adopted were made by this Legislature for the care of the insane and other unfortunates; for the University, the State Normal, the Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges; for the pensions to Confederate soldiers; and for the public schools.

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The Mothers' Congress

The sessions of the National Congress of Mothers, which met in Washington last week, were unusually interesting, and the organization is growing in influence and authority. Among the most prominent speakers were President Roosevelt, President Stanley Hall, and Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, the British Ambassador. The President made a strong plea for wholesome and vigorous family life, declaring that the welfare of the State depends on whether the average man and woman and their children represent the citizenship adequate for the foundation of a great Nation. It is in these fundamental relations and the proper discharge of their obligations and bearing of their responsibilities that the health and power of a nation are lodged. No accumulation of wealth, no material growth, will avail unless average men are

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courageous and industrious and average women are good wives and mothers, able and willing to perform the first and greatest duty of a woman—"able and willing to bear, and to bring up as they should be brought up, healthy children, sound in body, mind, and character, and numerous enough so that the race shall increase and not decrease." He declared that the happiest and most honorable task that any man can set before himself is the proper support of a wife and family, and that the most honorable and desirable task which any woman can set before herself is to be a good and wise mother. Boys and girls should be taught, not to avoid difficulties, but to overcome them; to work, not for themselves, but for others. He spoke strongly of the curse of easy divorce, which is a bane to a nation and a menace to the home, and in summing up he put his well-known and urgent protest against race suicide with characteristic directness:

> To sum up, then, the whole matter is simple enough. If either a race or an individual prefers the pleasures of mere effortless ease, of self-indulgence, to the infinitely deeper, the infinitely higher pleasures that come to those who know the toil and the weariness, but also the joy, of hard duty well done, why, that race or that individual must inevitably in the end pay the penalty of leading a life both vapid and ignoble. No man and no woman really worthy of the name can care for the life spent solely or chiefly in the avoidance of risk and trouble and labor. Save in exceptional cases, the prizes worth having in life must be paid for, and the life worth living must be a life of work for a worthy end, and ordinarily of work more for others than for one's self.

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University Education and Housekeeping

The speech of the President will, of course, be criticised by those women who do not believe in, or deceive themselves into thinking that they do not believe in, sex. Such a criticism we find in a letter by a "Doctor's Wife and College Graduate" in the New York "Sun." Woman's "general education should be the same as man's," says this writer, and adds, "She can learn the simple arts of housekeeping and sewing when she needs them." The simple art of housekeeping! It is because so many women have this mistaken view of the home and of home-making that so many families are driven to-day to hotels and so many men to clubs, whose proprietors and stewards do not regard home-making as a "simple art," but as a life-work worthy of all the special education and training that art and science can give. The trouble at the bottom of all these profitless criticisms and discussions between men and women as to the rights and privileges of the two sexes lies in the fact that advocates of men's rights and women's rights consider men and women on a comparative and competitive basis. The sexes are neither comparative nor competitive. One is the complement of the other, each fulfilling in mind, spirit, and body distinct and necessary functions in the life of the race. The young man who thinks that Greek, Latin, mathematics, astronomy, and chemistry, with a little history of art and a smattering of Anglo-Saxon thrown in, are the essentials of education, and that he can take up the simple art of organizing a factory or carrying on a business office when he needs to, is likely to have a hard time in life unless his father has taken a different view of the simple art of living and has provided him with a comfortable capital and income. Every man and every woman ought to be given the opportunity of learning the most that he or she can about the best that has been thought and said and done in the world, but this is not the only way to enable them to live the fullest, happiest, and most useful kind of life. The Outlook is of the unshaken opinion that home-making for herself, or her husband, or her children, or for somebody whom she can comfort and help and charm, is not to be looked upon as drudgery, or even as a "simple art," but as the highest, most artistic, and most intellectual work to which woman can aspire. The great danger of university education in this country to-day for men and women is its tendency to make both sexes feel that the "simple art of housekeeping" can be picked up in a moment by any one who at the time happens to be hungry or in need of a place to lay her head.

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Protection for the Family

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the National League for the Protection of the Family will ere long be able to commemorate a large turning of attention to the vital interest which it has patiently cultivated. Especially during the past year has the problem of the Family attained a prominence in the public eye hitherto unknown, evinced by the discussions, conferences, and action of the churches on the subject of divorce. As few Legislatures were in session during 1904, not much progressive legislation on that subject has taken place; neither has the Commission on Uniform Legislation done anything more about it. The President, however, at the instance of the League, recently urged Congress to provide for National statistics of marriage and divorce, and this was done by joint resolution in February. During the year a noteworthy degree of interest in securing better divorce laws has appeared in several Southern States and some others. But the League does not believe that the divorce evil can be effectively treated by itself, whether by legislation or church discipline. It is part of the large and complex problem of the Home, and the disintegrating influences which attack it. At the suggestion of the League, the National Congregational Council has resolved to investigate this main question by a "standing committee on the relation of the Church to the present problems of family life, . . . with studious inquiry into the material, industrial, educational, and legal conditions on which the fulfillment of the functions of the Family depends."

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Christian Comity

The change of the Congregational church at North Brookfield, Massachusetts, from the Congregational communion to the Protestant Episcopal communion was not only a notable event in itself, but remarkable as bringing out in a very striking and beautiful way the feeling of fraternity between different bodies of Christians which is one of the marked and hopeful signs of the times. Bishop Vinton, of Western Massachusetts, in a letter to the Union Congregational Church granting the petition of that society, charged them to remember that they were welcomed, not as coming spiritually stripped and bare, but as bringing rich Christian experience and character, and declared that he had endeavored to treat the whole matter in such a way that the result may be not only for the spiritual comfort and blessing of the Union Church, but also that the kindly Christian feeling existing between the Congregational Church and the Episcopal Church may remain undisturbed. At a Congregational Council called to dismiss the church from the Congregational body in order to permit its members to join the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rev. A. B. Bassett, of the First Congregational Church of Ware, acting as Moderator, not only the action but the expression of the action was on the highest possible plane of Christian brotherhood and feeling. In giving advice in regard to the exact method in which the transfer should be made, the Council put on record this statement:

> We call to mind the fact that while we as Congregationalists recognize as a Christian church any body of men and women banded together in loyalty to the word and will of Jesus, the Protestant Episcopal Church does not accord like recognition to any organized body outside the historic episcopate. It will therefore be needful, and we accordingly advise, that the Union Church vote to disband its organization, instructing its clerk or a committee to do two things before that vote shall take final effect: first, to grant letters of dismission to any of its members, present or absent, who may wish to join churches which will recognize such letters; and, second, to drop from the roll with explanatory note the names of others who express their purpose to enter individually, as upon a first confession of Christian faith, into relationship with any Church which does not recognize Congregational letters of dismission as possessing significance.

An incident which twenty years ago would have been marked by rancor or at least by coldness has thus furnished illustration of the progress of comprehension and sympathy between Christian bodies.

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General Hawley

For nearly twenty-four years United States Senator from Connecticut, and—with the exception of its two great war heroes,

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Admiral Foote and Governor Buckingham—inferior to none of Connecticut's distinguished men, General Joseph R. Hawley, who died in Washington last Saturday, will be remembered for his active career, his stanchness as to political principles, and his individuality of character. General Hawley, in his early days, was a forceful opponent of slavery and had a personal knowledge of its conditions through a residence in the South. He soon, however, came to Connecticut, became interested in politics as well as in law, and was one of the founders of a newspaper which later became merged in that influential and able journal the Hartford "Courant." He was a vigorous member of the Free Soil party as well as an active abolitionist, and when the Republican party was organized he was a delegate to its first National convention. From that time, 1856, to the day of his death he was a leading figure in the Republican party. He enlisted at the outbreak of the war, and was, indeed, the first man to enroll his name in the first company of the first regiment raised in Connecticut in response to Lincoln's call for volunteers. At Fort Wagner and in other engagements he served as a colonel with credit. After the close of the war he was elected Governor of Connecticut as the successor of Governor Buckingham. Of his long career as a National legislator, for a short time in the lower House and since 1881 in the Senate, it is unnecessary to speak in detail, but in every way he illustrated unconsciously in his political career the substance of a lecture which he sometimes delivered, entitled "The Gentleman in Politics." Thus, when financial legislation which he considered dishonorable was proposed, he declared that it was unthinkable because "Uncle Sam is a gentleman;" and with equal forcefulness he asserted that "Every bond of the United States should be held as sacred as a soldier's grave."

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Book Publication Misleading Statistics

Some time ago in The Outlook the Spectator commented on some statistics relating to book publication, and many readers not unnaturally expressed surprise that the figures quoted showed, or seemed to show, that out of a total of 132,376 books published in the world in a year, the United States was credited with only 7,833, standing sixth in the list as to the number of books published, and below Russia and Italy. It is generally a good rule when statistics run counter to common sense to doubt their sources. This particular matter has been very carefully examined by Dr. E. C. Richardson, the Librarian of Princeton University, and he has lately printed an extremely interesting monograph on the subject. In it he shows that the figures given above, derived from an article in the London "Bookseller," are rendered absurd by the fact that the statistics from America, those from England, and those from the European countries are derived from entirely different sources, and that each source has a standard and method entirely inconsistent with the others. This is illustrated by such facts as that out of the Italian "books" 4,000 are under twenty-five pages, that out of the German "books" (Germany in the list stands first with 23,908 books to its credit) 6,000 were not printed in Germany at all. These facts are sufficiently illuminating, but the whole matter is put in a positively amusing light when we learn that the Italian list, out of a total of 10,401 "books," includes no fewer than 7,889 pamphlets, a great number of periodicals, and even legislative bills; while the Spanish list caps the climax of absurdity by counting as a book each individual number of every current magazine and review published. Dr. Richardson's examination leads him to valuable conclusions, such as that, on whatever basis reckoned, the United States produces more books than any other nation except, perhaps, Great Britain—a satisfying fact to know if we look at the question of quantity alone.

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Lenten Services

The increasing tendency among Christians of all communions to take special note of the Lenten season and of the Christian year is receiving many fresh confirmations. Many interesting features of service, of

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Christian co-operation, and of mutual work have been devised to mark the forty days in a special and peculiar way. The pastors of the Congregational churches in New Haven, Connecticut, have issued an address to all churches of that body, urging a deeper sense of individual responsibility in order to make the Lenten season fruitful, and suggesting that this be accomplished by making the season a personal religious opportunity, by regular and responsive participation in religious services, by personal interest and invitation to others touching the moral and spiritual issues of life, by co-operating with pastors in bringing to their attention persons or families who might be influenced, and by personal presence to help and to receive help from special services and communion meetings. In the Old South Church, Boston, a course of Sunday evening addresses is being given on "Vocation and Religion." President Tucker has already spoken on "The Religion of an Educator," and Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie on "The Religion of a Man of Letters." Among other speakers Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court, is to speak on "The Religion of a Jurist;" Professor George H. Palmer on "The Religion of a Philosopher;" and Professor Du Bois, of Yale, on "The Religion of a Scientist."

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A Lenten Meditation

Society organized on a pagan basis and penetrated by idolatrous rites and customs has given place to a society formally organized on a Christian basis and penetrated by faith in a spiritual and righteous God, who spoke through the Christ in words at once definite, decisive, and authoritative, and by rites and customs harmonious with that faith. There are traces of barbarism, even of savagery, in the most advanced Western as in the Eastern civilizations, and there are great areas of activity as yet barely touched by the spirit of Christ; but society throughout the Western world has become formally Christian, and they who believe in Christ not only express their faith but conform to the customs of their fellows when they marry, christen their children, bury their dead, and attend the festivals of the State. In early Rome the law and order of the world were against the Christian; in Europe and America the law and order of society are with the Christian. He is no longer compelled to protest at every step in his relations with the State, nor to challenge the habits of his fellows at every turn. The religion which was once proscribed has now become the public faith, and that which once brought social ostracism with it has now become not only respectable but fashionable; for Christianity, although not the practice of the children of the world, has become their creed. The old peril to life has passed away; the old pressure of a supreme duty which could not be evaded has been removed; the old stimulus to heroic devotion has gone. Born into a nominally Christian society, among people who call themselves Christian, sent to schools and colleges where Christianity is at least recognized, surrounded by churches, with access to Christian literature on every side, a man may float with the current and call himself a follower of the Christ whose whole life was one sublime denial of the standards of the world in which he suffered and was strong, one sublime affirmation of the authority of that invisible spiritual order of which he was the prophet and revealer.

But to be a follower of Christ is a very different thing from acquiescence in the present order of society, conformity to the standards of our time. No man is burned at the stake to-day for his faith, nor is any man driven into the desert in order that he may keep himself pure; but in the twentieth as in the first century, he who follows Christ must separate himself in aim and practice from the society about him. For him, as for the earliest lover of the Christ, there must be a decisive and dominating choice between the aims and standards of his age and the aims and standards of the Christ. The outward conditions have changed, but the inward necessity is as great as ever; for no man can belong wholly to the world of his day and to the Christ of centuries, the God of the eternities. No outward dress marks the lover of the Christ; no unescapable necessity of pro-

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test against the entire social order separates him from his fellows; there is no sharply defined path of outward nonconformity in which he must walk; but let no man lull his conscience and silence its questions by mere acceptance of conventional Christian standards, unresistingly yielding to the external Christian movement of his time. For every real follower of the Master there is appointed the silence and solitude of the desert, the testing of temptation, the sharp and final detachment from widely accepted aims and ideals, the consecration to the principles and spirit of one who came not to accept but to uplift, to change, to put the heavenly in place of the earthly in the hearts of men.

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As Others See Us

Mr. Bryce's two articles on "America Revisited," the first of which appears in this week's issue of The Outlook, are valuable, if for no other reason, because they enable Americans to see themselves as others see them. The vision is stimulating to patriotism and encouraging to moral endeavor.

No doubt Mr. Bryce's sympathies are democratic. He is a liberal, and might possibly be characterized as a radical liberal. He is a believer in the plain people. But this belief in the plain people has never made him oblivious to the faults of democracy. No book of modern times has shown a clearer vision of America's faults or greater plainness of speech in rebuking them than "The American Commonwealth." Mr. Bryce is a sympathetic critic, but he is a critic, and a keen one. It is his testimony in these articles that, returning to America after an absence of twenty-one years, he finds in the changed conditions much more to encourage than to discourage faith in democracy; that, with all the growth in wealth and accompanying luxury, he finds a still greater growth in general education and in the civic conscience. It is this testimony which we think is stimulating to patriotism and encouraging to moral endeavor.

There are two classes of teachers, perhaps we should rather say talkers who do not teach, whose points of view are absolutely and unreconcilably opposed, and yet whose influence is practically the same. The one can see nothing bad in America and nothing good outside of it. To say of any idea that it is the American idea is to give it the highest possible praise. To say of any idea that it is an Old World idea is to subject it to the severest possible condemnation. This morally unscrupulous or morally stupid flatterer is to American democracy what the ancient courtier was to the king. The motto of one is that the king can do no wrong; of the other, that the people can do no wrong; and both mottoes are false. The other talker who does not teach is the Pharisaic cynic. Nothing American is good; or at least nothing good in America is worth talking about. The politicians are all corrupt; the journalists are all venal; the moral reformers are all impracticable; the authors are all imitators; the preachers are either commonplace or masqueraders—perhaps both. The Pharisaic cynic holds up to American life a mirror like the concave mirrors we sometimes see at a county fair; then he alternately preaches about and jeers at the grotesque reflection it presents. His general attitude is a not always subtle glorification of himself in contrast with his caricatured contemporaries; and he constantly reminds one of the old lady who remarked, "It takes all sorts of people to make this world, and I am glad I am not one of them." The flatterer paralyzes moral endeavor by his assurance that nothing need be done to make America better; the Pharisaic cynic paralyzes moral endeavor by sedulously cultivating the impression that nothing can be done to make America better. The one praises, the other condemns; but the praise of the one and the condemnation of the other are alike moral opiates.

There is no better antidote for these poisons than such a discriminating view of America and her problems as is afforded by these articles of Mr. Bryce. They point out with friendly candor very serious evils in American life, but they also give us assurance that we are making head against them. There is as little

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reason for the apathy of despair as for the indifference of self-conceit. There are evils to be corrected, but there is power to correct them. In this week's article on social conditions Mr. Bryce records his impression that America's intellectual, æsthetic, and moral development has kept pace with her development in material wealth; and assures us that, despite serious evils yet to be conquered, "the general moral standard of the United States still appears to me, as it did twenty years ago, to be, on the whole, higher than that of western Europe." His article of next week is on America's political problems, which he defines with great clearness, without offering any solution; but he evidently believes that America has the capacity to solve them, and shares for this country the feeling which he attributes to its people, a "deep-seated optimism" which "is very different from self-righteousness or vainglory."

We do not know that The Outlook has ever presented to its readers two articles better worthy of their studious reading and re-reading than these two articles of Mr. Bryce on "America Revisited."

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The Arbitration Treaties

The Senate

We hope that we have made it clear to those who have read the editorials in The Outlook on the arbitration treaties that the reason why these treaties have been laid aside is due, not to the written Constitution of the United States, but to the unwritten constitution of the United States Senate. When the Hague Tribunal was first organized, a wise man —subsequent history has shown him to be wise—said to the writer of this article something like this: The chief difficulty in the way of a Permanent Court of Arbitration, to which international difficulties shall be referred as a matter of course, lies, so far as this country is concerned, in the United States Senate. No body possessing political power ever willingly relinquishes that power. It always believes that it is wiser than the body to which it is requested to transfer that power. Hitherto all controversies between the United States and other nations have been settled either by the President of the United States, or, if a treaty was required, by the President acting in co-operation with the United States Senate. It is now proposed that when the President of the United States cannot settle such difficulties by diplomacy, their settlement shall be referred to a Permanent Court. This is taking from the United States Senate the exercise of a very considerable power, and it will not willingly relinquish that power.

History has proved the correctness of this prophecy. It is because the United States Senate is unwilling to relinquish its power that it is unwilling to transfer to a Permanent Court of Arbitration the settlement of those difficulties between the United States and other nations which cannot be settled diplomatically. The only remedy for this unwillingness on the part of the Senate is an appeal from the Senate to the people of the United States, and the only way to make this appeal effectual is to change in an important respect the constitution of the Senate. It has been well said by one familiar not only with the public political history of the United States but with the interior history of the United States Senate, that the Senate is a body of gentlemen whose chief concern is to enlarge their individual prerogatives and privileges. The Senate was intended by the framers of our Constitution to be a conservative body; representing the States, holding office for a longer term than the members of the House, and therefore less subject to fluctuations of public opinion, it would be able to exercise a check on impulsive and hasty legislation. Such a conservative body is needed. Rapid fluctuations of public opinion are a real peril to democracy. A body which can be completely changed in two years by a sudden political revolution is not in America a safe body to have the final word to say respecting great public questions.

But the Senate is no longer merely a check upon legislation. It has possessed itself of a veto power, and there is practically no way of overcoming its veto. The President has a veto, but at the

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end of four years the people can elect a different President. The Supreme Court of the United States has what amounts to a veto power under certain conditions, but this veto power is limited, and the United States Supreme Court is a judicial body, very slightly affected, if at all, by special interests, whether political or pecuniary. It is not, and there is no danger of its becoming, an organ of plutocracy. But the Senate of the United States is distinctly an organ of special interests, political and commercial, and its veto cannot be overridden by a popular election, as can the veto of the President.

Moreover, to exercise this veto power it has not to act, it has simply to fail to act; and, under the present rules of the Senate, two or three Senators can at any time prevent its acting. Not only they can do so, but they actually do so, and this frequently.

The Constitution provides that the President shall nominate, "and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors . . . and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for." The President nominated Dr. Crum to be Collector of the Port in Charleston, South Carolina. For over two years the Senate refused to give him any advice on this appointment. It neither approved nor disapproved, until the Senator from South Carolina graciously deigned to give his consent that the Senate should act on the nomination. The Senate "held up" the appointment, as it is called, not by exercising its function, but by refusing to exercise its function.

The Constitution provides that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties." In May, 1902, the President submitted to the Senate a treaty with the South American Republics, arranging for submission to the Permanent Court of Arbitration a certain class of controversies which might arise between those Republics and the United States. Not until January, 1905, two years and nine months after, did the Senate give any advice respecting these treaties. For these two years and nine months the Senate, by simply refusing to exercise the duty devolved upon it by the Constitution of the United States, vetoed any action by the United States on this subject.

In the case of the European arbitration treaties, the Senate did not refuse to act, but it effectively evaded action. It advised such a change in the treaties as made them wholly nugatory, transforming the proposed general arbitration treaty into the proposal that "we agree that we will agree when we agree to agree," a proposal which it was impossible for the President to report back to the European Powers without putting this Nation into an absurd position.

The President has negotiated a treaty with Santo Domingo. It is entirely within the right of the Senate to advise against the ratification of this treaty. It is entirely within its right to advise in favor of the ratification of this treaty. But it has no moral right to do what it actually is doing: it is adjourning without giving the President any advice whatever respecting this treaty. The interests of Santo Domingo, the interests of foreign States, the interests of American creditors, all wait upon the action of the United States, and the Senate refuses to take any action. If it rejected the treaty, foreign creditors, American creditors, the Santo Domingo Government, would be free to take what action they deemed best for the protection of their interests. They are now hindered, if not estopped, not by the action but by the inaction of the Senate. The Senators, like a parcel of tired school-boys, are going home to their vacation before their work is done, and the country is left in the attitude of the dog in the manger. It will neither provide any way by which the debts of Santo Domingo can be collected, nor will it allow other nations to provide for the enforced collection of those debts.

For these evils, and they are very serious, there is one remedy. We can see only one. It is a change in the constitution of the Senate. The Senate must be made more directly responsive to public sentiment, and there is one comparatively easy way by which it can be made responsive to public sentiment.

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It is by providing for the popular election of United States Senators.

It is true that the Constitution of the United States provides that the Senators from each State "shall be chosen by the Legislature thereof." To change this prohibition of the Constitution against the opposition of the Senate is a very difficult, perhaps a wholly impracticable, matter. But some of the Western States have pointed out the way in which the same result can be reached without a change in the Constitution of the United States. The framers of the Constitution were engaged in what seemed like a hazardous experiment. They were wise in proceeding with caution. They hedged about the action of democracy with many restrictions. They provided that the Senators should be elected by the Legislatures of the States, and that the President should be elected by a College of Electors elected by the States. The President is still elected by a College of Electors, but the President is nominated when the electors are nominated, and the electors are under a moral though not legal obligation to elect the President whom the people have nominated. The people have simply to apply this principle to the election of Senators, and to nominate Senators when they nominate members of the Legislature, and the members of the Legislature will be morally though not legally bound to elect the Senators whom the people have nominated.

The reader may think that this would be to step out of the frying-pan into the fire, that it would transfer the election of Senators from the Legislature to the political machine which nominates the Legislature. The remedy for this is a public primary by which the people shall nominate as well as appear to nominate both the Senators and the members of the Legislature.

This is no longer a purely theoretical plan, existing only on paper. The New York "Evening Post" has given an account of States which have already taken steps toward the adoption of this plan. From this article we gather the following facts: Wisconsin adopted by referendum last November a law under which the voter records his choice of party nominees for United States Senator as well as for Governor and State officers. In Illinois a bill approved by Governor Deneen provides for placing the names of Senatorial candidates on the primary ballot, with the proviso that the vote for such candidates for United States Senators shall be had for the sole purpose of ascertaining the sentiment of voters in the respective parties. In South Dakota the primary bill, which has been the most prominent measure before this year's Legislature, has been drawn to include Senatorial nominations; so has the bill before the Legislature of Washington. In Minnesota, where the direct primary system for the election of local officers has been in existence for some years, it is now proposed to extend it to the choice of United States Senators. In several Southern States the election of Senator is practically a popular election. There is only one party, with two factions, and the faction which carries the nomination in the party primary, by carrying that nomination, practically secures the election of the Senator nominated.

The peril to democracy in this country is not primarily from popular excesses, though this peril is always in the background to be guarded against. It is not from imperialistic assumption of power by the Chief Executive. Now and again a Mayor, a Governor, or a President may, in his impatience, or his ambition, or his unscrupulousness, exceed the limitations of his power, but it is always easy to check such an abuse. The peril is from an irresponsible oligarchy controlled by money, and controlling the United States Senate. Not all the Senators are creatures of this oligarchy; not a majority of them are creatures of this oligarchy; but, partly through mistaken rules adopted by the Senate itself, partly through the constitution of that body, from which practically no appeal lies, a few men are always able to prevent Senatorial action, and the prevention of Senatorial action is practically a veto on the action of the Government.

No political reform to-day is, in our judgment, more important than a reform which shall provide for the direct nomination and election of Senators of the United States by the people of the States

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which they ought to, but often do not, represent.

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A Word of Dissent

In this issue of The Outlook Mr. Alleyne Ireland brings to an end his valuable series of articles on "Colonial Policy in the Far East." From his conclusion that the inhabitants of a tropical country "are not capable and cannot be made capable" of maintaining self-government The Outlook entirely and unhesitatingly dissents. "Are not capable" may be true; "cannot be made capable" the American people do not and will not believe. For belief in the capacity of every man, of whatever race, to *acquire* self-government is not merely a political opinion of Americans, it is an article of their religious faith. What constitutes the image of God in which man, and every man, is made, is his latent capacity to know and choose the good and eschew the evil. If religion may be described as faith and hope and love, then this article of the American creed is a religious article, for it is faith in man as a son of God, hope for man that in him this sonship can be developed, and love for man showing itself in a settled purpose to develop this sonship in the poorest and the most ignorant. No argument will eliminate this faith from the American people. No failure of their experiment will destroy this article of their faith. They will simply conclude that the failure is due to their incompetency, not to that of the race, as they have concluded that their endeavor to establish political independence for the negro failed because they went about it in the wrong way. They have not abandoned the endeavor, they have simply changed the method, and have entered on a new experiment by the way of industrial education, industrial independence, and a qualified suffrage. The experience of other nations in the Far East is of great value; not, however, to teach us that there are races that never can be so developed as to become self-governing, but to teach us how to aid them in acquiring in the briefest possible time the capacity for self-government.

The Spectator

"Boat goes at ten o'clock," said the large, flat-faced, fussy man. "Stand over there. This way," to two approaching Italians. "No smoking! Here," to a woman with a shawl over her head, "you go to that waiting-room." He had so exactly the manner of one dealing with troublesome infants that the Spectator felt about three years old. It seemed rather un-American—but then, the policeman and the Spectator were the only Americans there, though the wharf was not a stone's throw from ferry and elevated road, and on the soil of New York. In the bay, within plain sight, lay the destination of the little steamboat—Ellis Island, the greatest gateway of immigration in the world.

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The Spectator was armed with a special card of introduction. But the fat policeman asked for nothing but to marshal the crowd on to the boat in good order, and when Ellis Island was reached there were no gates or restrictions. The Spectator chose the biggest of the substantial-looking buildings and walked in. No one said him nay, and the only people visible were some men hard at work scrubbing the floors. By them he was directed to the room where the official to whom he had a card of introduction could be found—a pleasant, sunny room, full of busy typewriters and uniformed employees coming and going, for the island is a hard-working place. Thirteen ships had come in that day, and nineteen hundred immigrants were in the buildings; but this, the official informed the Spectator as he conducted him up to the visitors' gallery, was not a particularly busy day. "We sometimes have seven and eight thousand immigrants to handle at once," he said, "and then we have to work pretty hard. This year we expect a million immigrants. The eight hundred thousand mark was passed in 1903, and the Russian war will mean a large increase of immigration." Ellis Island, indeed, reflects European complications. The Czar's treatment of Finland sent an instant wave of Finnish immigration; Kishinev meant an exodus of Russian Jews, and so on. Liberty

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does not lift her torch, close by in the harbor, for nothing.

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He is a poor American who does not feel the thrill of this thought. Yet he is also a foolish American who can visit Ellis Island without questionings as to the future. What America means for the immigrant is simple enough; but what the immigrant means for America is a problem of increasing complexity. The Spectator gained a hint of its most obvious and primary factors when his companion said, "You notice the men scrubbing the walls and floor? How often do you suppose we have to clean this building?" The Spectator, thinking he would be a trifle ahead of the facts, guessed, "Once a day." The official smiled. "It is cleaned from roof to cellar once in every two hours. The gangs of cleaners never stop." Then, opening a door into a long gallery running hundreds of feet, with two two-storied rows of wire mattresses upon gas-pipe frames and standards—"This is where the women sleep when they have to be detained, for any reason, over night. The opposite gallery is for the men. Each immigrant has a blanket allowed him or her. Every blanket is sterilized and laundried in the morning, and the whole gallery, floor, walls, beds, and all, is flooded with hot water and carbolic from a hose."

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By this time the visitors' gallery was reached, looking down into the great main hall. In the middle, facing the gallery, was a stairway, coming up from below somewhere, and up this gangway poured an unceasing stream of immigrants, two or three abreast. Most of the men had small trunks on their heads or shoulders; the women wore shawls or handkerchiefs on their heads, and led or carried small children. They came up, stolidly, steadily, submissively, like so many cattle; and as they came, a couple of inspectors, standing within the lane, defined by gas-pipe railings, that led straight from the stairway to the end of the hall, saw that they removed their hats, trunks, etc., from their heads, and that they had their tags, with numbers, in sight. "The first thing they see," explained the official, "is the American flag, as it hangs below us here, and all hats must come off before it." Sure enough, the Spectator, leaning over the gallery, found stretched from its rim a flag of superb size with a cluster of electric lights so placed as to illuminate it at night. Could a symbol be more eloquent?—yet he noticed that not one in a score of the newcomers appeared to look at it intelligently, or to understand why hats must come off.

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They had little time to look or understand, for they went forward, between the guiding lines of railing, to the first pen to the right, where two brisk, uniformed doctors stood, with a trim nurse in attendance and a neat array of basins, towels, etc., behind. "The doctors examine each immigrant," explained the official, "for one of the seventeen contagious eye diseases that have to be watched against, and various skin diseases, such as *favus*, which attacks the head and finger-nails. When the doctor finds disease, he chalk-marks the case, and it goes to the hospital, for detention or deportation, as the decision may be." As the human stream flowed on, the doctors caught the head of each immigrant, jerked it sharply back, turning up the eyelids with skillful finger and thumb, and, if there was no disease, let the man or woman pass to the next pen. Occasionally a few chalk-marks were made on the shoulder of coat or dress. Those thus marked went off to the left, to the hospital.

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"Each has a tag," said the Spectator's guide, "marked with a letter of the alphabet and a number. There are thirty under the letter A, thirty under B, and so on. We have fourteen inspectors at work, and each has certain letters assigned him. The hall will hold two thousand at a time. There, at the lower end, is the money exchange office. Commissioner Williams, who made such a fine record here, and brought order out of chaos, found that the firm in charge was making hundreds of thousands out of the immigrants by a very slight increase of the rate of exchange. He threw them out, and now the money is changed with

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absolute fairness. Who bring the most money? The Russian Jews. They generally have about twenty-five dollars apiece. These people coming up now are from southern Italy—the largest class of immigration at present, and the poorest. Next to them in number come the Austrian Jews, then the Teutonic immigrants—German and Scandinavian together—then the Slavs. It's getting poorer all the time. In this one month we have broken all previous records for deportation, sending back over a thousand immigrants. Disease and destitution are the principal reasons for deportation. Then, criminals are sent here, and the insane, to get rid of them from European countries. Yes, we have examiners at some foreign ports, but with such a flood of immigrants and the steamship companies eager to make profits, we cannot hope to stop all the undesirable comers, though we do our best under existing laws."

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When the Spectator was taken down and shown the detention pens, where the unsatisfactory cases were kept for further investigation or deportation, he felt thankful that America was spared these, at least. In spite of ventilation, of smooth, lately scrubbed walls and floor, and running hot and cold water invitingly given the women to wash their clothes and their children, the odor and the look of the crowds in each pen were enough to discourage the Statue of Liberty. Yet, even if not allowed to enter the land of promise, America was as hospitable to them as possible. The great dining-rooms, with their long tables, hot soup, and mighty slices of rye bread at every plate, proved that. "It is so much better than anything they have ever had," said the official, "that they weep and lament over leaving Ellis Island at all. They would be quite satisfied to stay in the pens for the rest of their lives, apparently."

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Those who passed the inspectors were being busily sorted out for their various destinations. The railroads all have agents on the spot, and the Government makes special efforts to keep any immigrant from going through New York City unprotected. Baggage is checked at a special rate of twenty-three cents, and food is sold under large signs, "Provisions cheaper here than on the railroads," in five languages, Italian, Hungarian, German, Scandinavian, and English. Cider, for instance, figures thus on a placard:

Cider Jablocznik Sidro Ablemost Apfelmost	5 cents

while a list of provisions, in five parallel language-columns, shows what immigrants prefer in the eating line. "Smoked bloaters, kosher bologna sausage, wheat bread, rye bread, cheese, boiled ham, pressed ham, crullers, pies six inches wide, pies eight inches wide," each at the lowest possible prices. The Spectator came away impressed by the order, the system, the wisdom, and the kindness which America shows in receiving immigrants at her greatest port. "There is nothing like Ellis Island in the world," the friendly official told him. The Spectator takes off his hat to ex-Commissioner Williams, who has made it what it is, and hopes that the present Commissioner will be an equally able and benevolent despot.

A CORRECTION.—Several correspondents have courteously called the attention of The Outlook to the fact that the Cathedral in Berlin, an account of the dedication of which The Outlook gave three weeks ago, is not a Lutheran but a Reformed Church edifice. Two centuries ago the ancestors of the present Emperor withdrew from the Lutheran Church and joined the Reformed Church, and the Cathedral was made the Court Church. The Rev. Dr. Vollmer, who speaks with authority, recalls the fact that "the union of the Prussian Church was effected in 1817 on the federative and not on the absorptive principle, as the union in other countries, and the Reformed and Lutheran Churches still retain their historical rights."

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America Revisited: The Changes of a Quarter-Century[1]

By the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, M.P.

Author of "The American Commonwealth," "The Holy Roman Empire," etc.

In Two Parts—I.

THE OUTLOOK has asked me to set down on paper some of the changes in the United States which have struck me on revisiting that country. Thirty-four years have passed since I first saw it, and twenty-one years since I spent in it a time long enough to form impressions. The invitation interests me, for much has happened in the period over which I can now look back. Yet it is with diffidence that I comply with the request, because the older a man grows the more does he feel the difficulty of discerning and interpreting social phenomena, and because every time an observer visits America he finds many more phenomena to study than he had found before. My friends, however, say that if it is worth while to discover and point out the changes that are passing on a country, this is most easily done by the visitor who comes at long intervals. As one who has been away from home for some years notices on his return changes of which the members of his family are scarcely conscious, as he sees that the slender youth has filled out into a man, and that the dark locks of thirty have begun to silver at fifty, so he who comes back to any country after a long absence is struck by novel aspects of things which the home-stayer, living continuously among them, has scarcely observed, because the process of change has been slow and unobtrusive.

Accordingly, I shall try to enumerate sundry differences between the United States of 1905 and the United States of 1870 or 1883. About some of them I may be mistaken. Some, again, may be superficial or transient, and yet they may deserve to be remarked, because one may thus be led to think of the underlying influences that are at work. All the changes of which I am about to speak have come gradually and naturally. In retrospect, one can see that they are such as might have been expected to come, though most of them were not in fact predicted. One exception, indeed, there is. One new and large fact has appeared which nobody looked for, a fact due partly to a sort of contagion spreading from Europe, partly to an unpredictable series of historical accidents (if anything in history is an accident). Of this new fact more hereafter. The other changes seem due to causes which were already at work forty years ago. They have moved on broad and well-marked lines. Most of them show a relation to one another which makes them appear part of the same great movement. Some — and these are of peculiar interest—show that America is being more and more drawn into the general current of the world's movement, not always, perhaps, to her advantage.

That which most strikes the visitor to America to-day is its prodigious material development. Industrial growth, swift thirty or forty years ago, advances more swiftly now. The rural districts are being studded with villages, the villages are growing into cities, the cities are stretching out long arms of suburbs which follow the lines of road and railway in every direction. The increase of wealth, even more remarkable than the increase of population, impresses a European more deeply now than ever before because the contrast with Europe is greater. In America every class seems rich compared with the corresponding class in the Old World. The huge fortunes, the fortunes of those whose income reaches or exceeds a million dollars a year, are of course far more numerous than in any other country. But the absence of pauperism is still more remarkable. In 1870 I carefully examined the

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poor-law system of two great Eastern cities, and found that, although there were very few persons needing or receiving support at the public expense, the number was expected to grow steadily and quickly as the cities grew. To-day I am told that in these cities pauperism, though of course absolutely larger, increases more slowly than population.

Life has for a long time been comfortable and easy for the workingman and the clerk or shopman, as compared with life for the like class in Europe. But for the classes standing next above the laborers in point of income life was in 1870 in general plain and simple, simpler than the life led by the richer class in England or France. Luxury was then confined to a very few. Simplicity is not so common to-day. The incomes of those who correspond to the so-called "upper middle class" of Europe are much larger than such persons enjoy in Europe, and they live on a more lavish scale.

The "easier life," however, does not mean that life is taken easily. It consists in having and spending more money, not in doing less work. On the contrary, the stress and rush of life seems greater to-day in America than it ever was before. Everybody, from the workman to the millionaire, has a larger head of steam on than his father had. Whether it be true, as many say, that the vital powers are sooner exhausted, I do not know. It would not be strange if this were so. Time is more precious. More pains are taken to save it. More work is squeezed into the hour and the day.

In this age, more than in any preceding age, wealth means power, offensive power in war as well as financial power in peace. It was an old and favorite commonplace of political moralists that the rich nations, dwelling in fertile plains and enervated by luxury, became the victims of the poor nations, who, inhabiting barren mountains, were hardier and fiercer in fight. It is not so now. Naval war is, above all things, an affair of scientific apparatus, of ironclads, of torpedoes, of guns with long range and quick fire. Land war depends on the best artillery, the best rifles and ammunition, the best commissariat. War is an affair of science, and science is costly. All the great nations can produce good fighting men, and all may happen to have a good general. But some have far greater pecuniary resources than others. None has resources comparable to those of the United States. The Republic is as wealthy as any two of the greatest European nations, and is capable, if she chooses, of quickly calling into being a vast fleet and a vast army. Her wealth and power has in it something almost alarming.

With this extraordinary material development it is natural that, in the United States, business, that is to say industry, commerce, and finance, should have more and more come to overshadow and dwarf all other interests, all other occupations. Every European who visited the country since the beginning of last century seems to have been struck by this fact. It is more striking now than it was thirty-five years ago. But the contrast with Europe is not greater now than it was then. Rather is it less, for in this respect England and Germany have been following in America's footsteps. In them, too, business interests hold a far more conspicuous place than formerly. The landowner, the professional man, the man of letters, are in those countries relatively less important than they were; the financier and manufacturer more important. Business is king. In American society, as I have said, this feature is an old one. But one illustration of it struck me as new. Lawyers are now to a greater extent than formerly business men, a part of the great organized system of industrial and financial enterprise. They are less than formerly the students of a particular kind of learning, the practitioners of a particular art. And they do not seem to be quite so much of a distinct professional class. Some one seventy years ago called them the aristocracy of the United States, meaning that they led public opinion in the same way as the aristocracy of England led opinion there. They still comprise a large part of the finest intellect of the Nation. But one is told that they do not take so keen an interest in purely legal and constitutional

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questions as they did in the days of Story and Webster, or even in those of William M. Evarts and Charles O'Conor. Business is king.

Commerce and industry themselves have developed new features. Twenty-two years ago there were no Trusts; and trade-unions, though they existed, were much less powerful, much less pervasive, much less thoroughly organized than they were in England. Even then, however, corporations had covered a larger proportion of the whole field of industry and commerce in America than in Europe, and their structure was more flexible and more efficient. To-day this is still more the case; while as for Trusts, they have become one of the most salient phenomena of the country. They fix the attention, they excite the alarm, of economists and politicians as well as of traders in the Old World, while they exercise and baffle the ingenuity of American legislators. Workingmen follow, though hitherto with unequal steps, the efforts at combination which the lords of production and distribution have been making. The consumer stands by, if not with folded hands, yet so far with no clear view as to the steps which he may take for his own protection. Perhaps his prosperity—for he is prosperous—helps him to be acquiescent. The example of the United States, the land in which individualism has been most conspicuously vigorous, may seem to suggest that the world is passing out of the stage of individualism and returning to that earlier stage in which groups of men formed the units of society. The bond of association was, in those early days, kinship, real or supposed, and a servile or quasi-servile dependence of the weak upon the strong. Now it is the power of wealth which enables the few to combine so as to gain command of the sources of wealth; and the stronger the employers become and the less they have a personal tie (such as employers once had) with the workmen, so much the more do the workmen feel compelled to try how they can advance their material interests by the use of similar methods. In both cases there is a loss of that individual liberty which the last generation was taught to expect from the progress of civilization. Power becomes concentrated in few hands, be they those of the men who control the Trusts or those of the men who lead the Unions. Is it a paradox to observe that it is because the Americans have been the most individualistic of peoples that they are now the people among whom the art of combination has reached its maximum? The amazing keenness and energy which were stimulated by the commercial conditions of the country have evoked and have ripened a brilliant talent for organization. This talent has applied new methods to production and to distribution, and has enabled wealth, gathered into a small number of hands, to dominate even the enormous market of America.

The growth of manufactures might have been predicted half a century ago, for even then it was known that there were vast deposits of coal and iron, that the American people were highly inventive, and that the increase of population would create a prodigious demand for goods. One result, however, of the extension of manufactures may not have been so fully foreseen. I mean the change in the character of the occupations and dwelling-places of the people. They are ceasing to be a folk of country dwellers. It is not only that the greater cities extend themselves with amazing speed, and that many of the mineral areas are becoming so covered with villages as to differ little from cities. There is a general disposition to migrate from rural districts to centers of population, where a brisker life and more amusements can be enjoyed. The change is all the more remarkable because agriculture continues to be prosperous. It has been accelerated by those applications of machinery to agricultural work which enable a farm to be worked by a smaller staff than was formerly needed. Wherever one travels in the Eastern and Northern States one sees new towns rising along the lines of railroad and the older towns spreading out. The eye as well as the census table tells one that the people are becoming a people subject to city influences. Already, though the population which lives outside towns with less than eight thousand inhabitants is numerically larger (almost two-thirds), still it is

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urban ways and habits, urban opinion, urban tendencies, that are beginning to prevail in the United States. This process goes on steadily. It will go on all the faster because the good land of the Northwest has now—so one is told—been practically all taken up, while even the irrigation of the dry lands of the south central West cannot redress the balance by providing a new rural population to set against the increase of the cities. This is one of the new facts which strikes a visitor, and especially an Englishman. Thirty-five years ago England was already a country of city dwellers, and the United States seemed by contrast a country of agriculturists. Before long the United States will be like England, and, one may almost add, like Germany also, a land in which the urban type of mind and life will preponderate. The change may be regrettable. Jefferson would have regretted it. But it is unavoidable. It will tend to increase that nervous strain, that sense of tension, which Americans are already deemed to show as compared with the more sluggish races of Europe. There will be less repose than ever in life. Health may not suffer, nor the death-rate increase, for cities can now be made to show as low a mortality as most country places. In London we have brought down the rate since 1870 from 23 to 17 per thousand. Yet the physical strength of the average man may not be quite the same; and his mental constitution will almost certainly be different. It may not be inferior—indeed it may be more alert and versatile. But it will be different.

All the changes I have been enumerating tend to make men occupy themselves more than ever with their work and with material interests in general. It is true that they have more money, and some of them more leisure. Hours of labor are shortening, as they have shortened, and more generally, in Australia. But as labor is more intense while it lasts, leisure is necessarily given chiefly to amusement. Such conditions may seem unfavorable to intellectual progress. But here comes in another remarkable change which casts a new light upon the landscape and fundamentally affects our estimate of the prospect that lies before the Nation.

There has been within these last thirty-five years a development of the higher education in the United States perhaps without a parallel in the world. Previously the Eastern States had but a very few universities whose best teachers were on a level with the teachers in the universities of western Europe. There were a great many institutions bearing the name of university over the Northern and Middle States and the West, and a smaller number in the South, but they gave an instruction which, though in some places (and especially in New England) it was sound and thorough as far as it went, was really the instruction rather of a secondary school than of a university in the proper sense. In the West and South the teaching, often ambitious when it figured in the programme, was apt to be superficial and flimsy, giving the appearance without the solid reality of knowledge. The scientific side was generally even weaker than the literary. These universities or colleges had their value, for their very existence was a recognition of the need for an education above that which the school is intended to supply. I ventured even then to hazard the opinion that the reformers who wished to extinguish the bulk of them or to turn them into schools, reserving the degree-granting power to a selected few only, were mistaken, because improvement and development might be expected. But I did not expect that the development would come so fast and go so far. No doubt there are still a great many whose standard of teaching and examination is that of a school, not of a true university. But there are also many which have risen to the European level, and many others which are moving rapidly towards it. Roughly speaking—for it is impossible to speak with exactness—America has now not less than fifteen or perhaps even twenty seats of learning fit to be ranked beside the universities of Germany, France, and England as respects the completeness of the instruction which they provide and the thoroughness at which they aim. Only a few have a professorial staff containing names equal to those which adorn

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the Faculties of Berlin and Leipzig and Vienna, of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. Men of brilliant gifts are scarce in all countries, and in America there has hardly been time to produce a supply equal to the immense demand for the highest instruction which has lately shown itself. It is the advance in the standard aimed at, and in the efforts to attain that standard, that is so remarkable. Even more noticeable is the amplitude of the provision now made for the study of the natural sciences, and of those arts in which science is applied to practical ends. In this respect the United States has gone ahead of Great Britain, aided no doubt by the greater pecuniary resources which not a few of her universities possess, and which they owe to the wise liberality of private benefactors. In England nothing is so hard as to get money from private persons for any educational purpose. Mr. Carnegie's splendid gift to the universities of Scotland stands almost alone. In America nothing is so easy. There is, indeed, no better indication of the prosperity of the country and of its intelligence than the annual record of the endowments bestowed on the universities by successful business men, some of whom have never themselves had more than a common-school education. Only in one respect does that poverty which Europe has long associated with learning reappear in America. The salaries of presidents and professors remain low as compared with the average incomes of persons in the same social rank, and as compared with the cost of living. That so many men of an energy and ability sufficient to win success and wealth in a business career do nevertheless devote themselves to a career of teaching and research is a remarkable evidence of the intellectual zeal which pervades the people.[1]

The improvement in the range and quality of university teaching is a change scarcely more remarkable than the increased afflux of students. It seems (for I have not worked the matter out in figures, as I am giving impressions and not statistics) to have grown much faster than population has grown, and to betoken an increased desire among parents and young men to obtain a complete intellectual equipment for life. The number of undergraduates at Harvard is much larger than is the number who resort to Oxford; the number at Yale is larger than the number at Cambridge (England). Five leading universities of the Eastern States—Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Pennsylvania—count as many students as do all the universities of England (omitting in both cases those who attend evening classes only), although there are twice as many universities in England now as there were forty years ago, and although the English students have much more than doubled in number. And whereas in England the vast majority of students go to prepare themselves for some profession—law, journalism, medicine, engineering, or the ministry of the Established Church—there is in America a considerable proportion (in one institution I heard it reckoned at a third or more) who intend to choose a business career, such as manufactures, or banking, or commerce, or railroading. In England nearly every youth belonging to the middle or upper class who takes to business goes into a commercial office or a workshop not later than seventeen. In the United States, if he graduates at a university, he continues his general liberal education till he is twenty-one or twenty-two. This practical people does not deem these three years lost time. They believe that the young man is all the more likely to succeed in business if he goes to it with a mind widely and thoroughly trained. To say that the proportion of college graduates to the whole population is larger in America than in any European country would not mean much, because graduation from a good many of the colleges means very little. But if we take only those colleges which approach or equal the West European standard, I think the proportion will be as high as it is in Germany or Switzerland or Scotland, and higher than it is in England.

This feature of recent American development has an important bearing on the

[1] Many subjects are taught to large classes at the best Eastern universities for the study of which hardly any students can be secured in England.

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National life. It is a counterpoise to the passion, growing always more intense, for material progress, to the eagerness to seize every chance, to save every moment, to get the most out of every enterprise. It tends to diffuse a taste for scientific and literary knowledge among a class to most of whom, in other countries, few opportunities have been opened for acquiring such a taste. It adds to the number of those who may find some occasion in their business life for turning a knowledge of natural science to practical account, and so benefiting the country as well as themselves. Nor is its social influence to be overlooked. One is frequently impressed in America by the attachment of the graduates to the place of their education, by their interest in its fortunes, by their willingness to respond when it asks them for money. In the great cities there are always University Clubs, and in some cities these clubs have become centers for social and political action for good public ends. Not unfrequently they take the lead in municipal reform movements.

When I pass from the places set apart for the cultivation of letters and learning to the general state of letters and learning in the community, it is much more difficult to formulate any positive impressions. One feels a change in the spirit of the books produced, and a change in the taste of the reading public, but one cannot say exactly in what the alteration consists, nor how it has come, nor whether it will last. Having no sufficient materials for a theory on the subject, I can venture only on a few scattered remarks. Literary criticism, formerly at a low ebb, seems to have sensibly improved, whereas in England many people doubt if it is as acute, as judicious, and as delicate as it was in the sixties. The love of poetry and the love of art are more widely diffused in America than ever before; one finds, for instance, a far greater number of good pictures in private houses than could have been seen thirty years ago, and the building up of public art galleries has occupied much of the thought and skill of leading citizens as well as required the expenditure of vast sums. Great ardor is shown in the investigation of dry subjects, such as questions of local history. The interest taken in constitutional topics and economic questions, indeed in everything that belongs to the sphere of political science, is as great as it is in Germany or France, and greater than in Britain. This interest is, indeed, confined to one class, which chiefly consists of university teachers, but it is a new and a noteworthy phenomenon. Few people thought or wrote on these matters thirty years ago.

On the other hand, it is said, and that by some who have the best special opportunities for knowing, that serious books, *i. e.*, books other than fiction and the lighter forms of *belles-lettres*, find no larger sale now, when readers are more numerous and richer, than they did in the seventies. No one can fail to observe the increasing number and popularity of the magazines; and it seems likely that they are now more read, in proportion to books, than they used to be. The same thing is happening in England. It is a natural consequence of the low prices at which, owing to the vast market, magazines containing good matter and abundant illustrations can be sold. It may also be due to that sense of hurry which makes the ordinary American little disposed to sit down to work his way through a book. Both these factors are more potent in the United States than they were ever before, or than they are in Europe.

If in America as well as in England the growth of population has not been accompanied by a growing demand for books (other than fiction), let us remember and allow for the results of another change which has passed upon both countries. It is a change which is all the more noticeable in America because it is there quite recent. It is the passion for looking on at and reading about athletic sports. The love of playing and watching games which require strength and skill is as old as mankind, and needs no explanation. So the desire not to play but to look on at chariot races and gladiatorial combats was a passion among the people of Rome for many centuries. The circus factions at Constantinople have their place in history,

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and a bad place it is. But this taste is in America a thing almost of yesterday. It has now grown to vast proportions. It occupies the minds not only of the youth at the universities, but also of their parents and of the general public. Baseball matches and football matches excite an interest greater than any other public events except the Presidential election, and that comes only once in four years. The curse of betting which dogs football as well as horse-racing in England seems to be less prevalent in America; nor do the cities support professional football clubs like those which exist in the towns of northern England and even of Scotland. But the interest in one of the great contests, such as those which draw forty thousand spectators to the great "Stadium" recently erected at Cambridge, Massachusetts, appears to pervade nearly all classes more than does any "sporting event" in Great Britain. The American love of excitement and love of competition has seized upon these games, but the fashion, like that of playing golf and that of playing bridge, seems to have come from England. It is a curious instance of the more intimate social relations between the two countries that speak the same language that fashions of this kind pass so quickly from the one to the other and do not pass from either to Continental Europe. There has been no development of the devotion to athletic sports in Germany or in France coincident with that which is so marked a feature of modern England and so novel a feature in America.

No subject fixes the attention of social philosophers in Europe who seek for light from the New World more than does the problem of divorce. The States of the Union have tried many experiments, and some rash experiments, in this field. The results, momentous for America, may be instructive for the rest of mankind, and are being watched with curiosity by European sociologists. Mr. Gladstone was so profoundly interested in the matter that whenever conversation turned upon the United States he began to inquire about the divorce laws and their working. Such information as I could gather does not enable me to say whether the position is substantially different from what it was twenty years ago, when the legislation which so many observers regret had, in most States, come into operation. There does, however, seem to be a growing reaction against the laxity of procedure in divorce suits, as well as against the freedom granted by the States which have gone furthest; and though little is heard of the proposal that Congress should receive power to pass a general divorce law for the whole country, the suggestion that efforts should be made to induce the States to introduce greater uniformity, and to make the procedure for obtaining divorce less liable to abuse, finds increasing favor. It is encouraging to note a stronger sense, among thinking men, of the evils which laxity tends to produce.

Serious as these evils are, the general moral standard of the United States still appears to me, as it did twenty years ago, to be, on the whole, higher than that of western Europe. (The differences between France, Germany, and England are not so great as is commonly supposed.) Even in the wealthiest class, where luxury weakens the sense of duty and lays men and women most open to temptation, there are apparently fewer scandals than the same class shows elsewhere. Nor is the morality of any country to be measured by the number of divorces. Its condition may be really worse if people cynically abstain from obtaining divorces where there are grounds for obtaining them. Although there is more wealth in America than in England, luxury is less diffused, and that idle and self-indulgent class which sets a bad example to other classes is relatively smaller.

Among minor changes which the traveler notes, he must not forget the growth of what may be called æsthetic sentiment. The desire to have beauty around one, to adorn the house within and the grounds without, if not new, has developed apace since 1870. In one respect it is much more active in the United States than in most parts of Europe. We have in England, so far as I know, none of those Village Improvement Societies which have arisen in some of the Northern States, and especially in New

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England. Neither has any English city surrounded itself with such a superb ring of parks and open spaces, some hilly and rocky, some covered with wood, some studded with lakes, as Boston now possesses. America used to be pointed at by European censors as a country where utility was everything and beauty nothing. No one could make such a reproach now. One melancholy exception may, however, be referred to. Niagara has lost much of the charm that surrounded it in 1870. Hideous buildings line the banks of the river below the Falls, almost as far down as the railway bridge. The air is full of smoke. Goat Island has, indeed, been preserved; the Canadians have laid out a park just below the Horseshoe Fall; and the volume of the green flood that rushes over the precipice has not been visibly diminished by all that is now abstracted to work the great turbines. But the wildness of nature and the clear purity of the sky have departed. It is a loss to the whole world, for the world has no other Niagara.

The sentiment which seeks to adorn cities and improve the amenity of villages is near of kin to the sentiment which cherishes the scenes of historical events and the places associated with eminent men. Here, too, one feels in the United States the breath of a new spirit. Reverence for the past and a desire to maintain every sort of connection with it has now become a strong and growing force among educated people. A slight but significant illustration of the changed attitude may be found in the disposition to expect university and (in some places) judicial officials to wear on formal occasions an official dress. Thirty years ago no such dress was worn by any functionary in the United States except the judges of the Supreme Court sitting at Washington.

I must pass over many other points in which new facts, disclosing new tendencies, present themselves to the observer's eye. One among them is the attitude of the churches towards one another, and the wider channels in which religious opinion now flows. Another is the position of women, with the remarkable growth of women's clubs and societies. People who seemed to be impartial told me that this had not brought women any more into politics, as a similar change has done in England. They said, indeed, that the woman suffrage movement, which at one time seemed to be rapidly advancing, had of late years experienced a check. But I am far from trying to reckon up all or even most of the changes of thirty-five years. Sensible of the difficulty of conveying to my younger readers an idea of the impression that America made on European travelers just after the war, still more sensible of the still greater difficulty of conveying the impression which America, now far vaster and more complex, makes on the traveler to-day, I attempt no more than to indicate some of the more obvious differences between those days and the present. The subtler differences, of which there are many, would need a fuller and more analytic treatment. I reserve for another paper those aspects of the subject, also comparatively patent and capable of explanation, which belong to the public or political life of the Nation.

Perhaps I have been overbold in venturing, after a brief visit, to record so many impressions, hastily formed, upon large questions. But I am encouraged by the kindness wherewith the comments on American affairs which I made sixteen years ago have been received. And it is hard to resist the temptation to express one's admiration for the richness and variety of the forms in which civilization has developed itself in the United States, for the inexhaustible inventiveness and tireless energy of the people, for the growing passion for knowledge, the growing desire to diffuse happiness and enlightenment through every part of the community.

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Losing One's Religion: A Student Experience

By Henry Thomas Colestock

THERE is one word that some of us who look back on our college life wish had been spoken to us in the midst of our college course; for, lacking this word of explanation, we have had to learn *ab initio*, in the severe school of personal experience, one of the lessons worked out by the race through centuries of conflict. Not infrequently has it happened, in working out this problem for ourselves, that the process, compressing into a few months or years the anxiety, the anguish, of a racial experience, brings to the individual moments and days never to be forgotten. But not all learn the lesson when left to themselves, and this is an irreparable injury to the individual; for failure means indifference or even hostility to the most helpful things in life. I refer to the process of adjustment between religious faith and a growing knowledge.

In the experience of the race this problem of adjustment between religious faith and a growing knowledge is one of the great problems of every period characterized by intellectual progress. Nor is it difficult to understand the reason for this age-long conflict between faith and knowledge. The explanation is a psychological one.

Religious faith being one of the dearest and most sacred possessions of mankind, it is natural to transfer to our explanations of faith the sacredness of faith itself. Failing to make this distinction between religious faith, which is a life of fellowship with God, and the *explanations* of this fellowship, which necessarily must vary according to the temperament and the enlightenment of the individual, the problem of adjustment between religious faith and the growing knowledge of the age has at times absorbed the attention and the strength of nations.

The same problem of adjustment between faith and knowledge confronts the student. He comes to college with certain religious ideas and beliefs, and in the progress of his studies finds an antagonism between his religious beliefs and his growing knowledge. At first he puts aside as false whatever does not accord with his religious opinions. Students have been known to go through college rejecting every position in science or philosophy which did not harmonize with their inherited religious beliefs. This, however, is not true of many students. On the other hand, the reasonableness of the conclusions of science and of philosophy win the assent of the student even against his will. But it seems impossible for him to accept these conclusions and retain his religious beliefs which he thinks of as his religion. He may fight for a time the rising tide of new ideas, but sooner or later he finds resistance useless. He awakens to the fact that these new ideas, hostile to his religion though they be, as it appears to him, are possessing him.

Now ensues one of the tragic struggles of his life. As the new ideas possess him, they undermine certain religious beliefs which he holds on to with terrible earnestness for a while, only to find at last that these beliefs do not mean to him what they once did. Few individuals who have passed through the heartrending experience of losing their religion can ever forget that experience. Some, after a very trying and painful struggle, learn that *religious faith* and *religious opinions* are two very different things; others never learn this lesson, and, having lost their early religious opinions, think they have lost their religion and easily drift into an indifference toward the duties and claims of the religious life. When approached, such persons will tell you, in moments of confidence, that religious matters do not mean anything to them now—they had to give all that up in college.

It is possible, of course, to lose one's

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religion in college; to degenerate in character, to become immoral and irreligious; as it is possible to become dissolute anywhere. But I have not at present such a class of individuals in mind; but rather those whose characters have not degenerated, but whose religious opinions no longer mean to them what they once did, and who think consequently that they have lost their religion.

The word which some of us wish had been spoken to us who have passed through one phase or another of this struggle of adjustment between faith and knowledge is this: Religious faith is a life of fellowship with God; religion is the living of one's life in view of this fellowship; religious beliefs are explanations of this life of fellowship with God, and it is reasonable to expect that these explanations will vary according to our intellectual progress, being different with the same individual in different stages of his development; and differing also in the thought of different persons owing to training and temperament.

With this distinction between religious faith and religious beliefs firmly grasped, the student need not feel that he is losing his religion when he is being compelled to give up some of his early, inadequate religious conceptions. Rather he will welcome all new ideas which enable him to explain this fellowship and to understand more fully its meaning. With this distinction between religious faith and the explanations of faith kept in mind, the student can fearlessly investigate any subject in science or history or philosophy without disturbing his religion, for he thinks of religion as a life in fellowship with God; but as new light dawns he may be compelled to reinterpret all of the soul's relations with God. His explanations of faith change; his faith abides, grows, develops.

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The Care of the Body

By S. H. Carney, M.D.

TO those who possess that mental obliquity expressed by declaring that matter does not exist, the development and care of the human body cannot be understood, nor, if they are consistent, admitted. Outside this limited class of thinkers it is unfortunately true that there are many individuals who pay less attention to the care of their bodies than to the regulation of their watches. This is not surprising when one realizes that few individuals ever have the structure and functions of the body explained to them, and, further, from the smatterings of information graciously and gratuitously passed along by neighbor to neighbor, one might be led to suppose that the field of physical knowledge had become as dead as the Latin language is supposed to be, or that some copyrighted belief, or cure-all, had either revolutionized or held in subjection the immutable laws which govern an organized being.

This is deplorable, inasmuch as mischief results from the ignorance of the fact that to-day, as during unrecorded time, bodies are born into this world possessing bones, muscles, blood-vessels, and organs each capable of performing its assigned function while conforming to governing laws.

It is true that pupils in some schools receive limited instruction in physiology, perhaps even in anatomy, but, as a rule, the average scholar knows less about the causes and effects of life than the veriest savage. If this statement seem extravagant, it is nevertheless most pathetically true, both as to scholars and their parents as well. In how many of the thousands of private and public schools is instruction given as to the practical care and needs of the body?

It seems to be a foregone conclusion that the home training has been such that all that remains for the growing lad or maiden to acquire is the digestion of roots of ancient languages, and kindred hall-marks of mental acumen.

Quite recently I have attended two beautiful little babies eight and nine

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months old, respectively. One baby had been fed by its mother, not only from the breast, but with sponge-cake, soup, meat, and *soap*. The other had had forty-eight ounces of oatmeal gruel and condensed milk, mashed potato, a proprietary cough syrup (opium?), some white vaseline, and was so tightly bandaged that its little plump legs were blue. These are not exceptional cases. The parents are "plain people," of fair education, with comfortable homes, devoted to their children, and absolutely ignorant of physiological, anatomical, and dietary conditions.

It is astonishing that where the body combines beauty, delicacy, and strength in its architecture, it is so often treated with a lack of appreciation which the owner would not bestow on a kitchen utensil; and it is not surprising that in consequence of such treatment its harmonious adjustment becomes deranged.

The mechanism and functions of the body should be as thoroughly explained and instruction therein given as in "Reading, 'Riting, and 'Rithmetic." Each mind should be taught how to keep the body in which it dwells in such perfect running order that the standard of health, usefulness, and consequent prosperity of a given section would be raised. Technical terms can be largely eliminated in such instruction, and this elimination need not detract from the practical knowledge, given in a conversational way, which would have a lasting value. In illustration: the general public has but slight interest in a statement that the sudoriparous and sudoriferous glands are to be found in certain strata of the *cutis vera* and *epidermis*. It has been most interesting, however, to note the interest and intelligence of both young and old in hearing of the functions of the skin—"the roof of the house we live in." They easily grasped its formation, one layer upon another, and, if unfamiliar with the "oil glands," they all knew what the "sweat glands" produced!

On one occasion, some years ago, when the tube-length of the perspiratory system was shown to be twenty-eight and one-half miles, and that it was constantly throwing off materials which, if allowed to collect, would be detrimental to health, the superintendent of the institution before which the talk was given informed me that a special attendant had to be detailed the next day to "deal out bath tickets." It was gratifying to know that one section of a big city had faithfully performed its chemical experiment with soap and water.

It is inexpressibly sad to hear otherwise sane individuals solemnly announce, "Tnere are no bones;" "There is no blood;" "Liver, liver, liver—she hasn't any liver." The witty question and reply, "Is life worth living?"—"It depends upon the liver"—can be turned both ways; but if young women and men who are to become mothers and fathers of future citizens desire to have their offspring answer the question affirmatively, now is the time to start a movement for their instruction in their own valuable property, the human body; in what, in the best and truest meaning, the duties and functions of the body consist; and then one may confidently expect types of womanly and manly intelligence and vigor which will not cause any one to wish for race suicide.

It is eminently proper that our educationalists should strive to give the best mental pabulum at their command to seeking minds—and in recent years there has been an almost endless amount of library-giving and increase in the curricula of institutions of learning; but the fact should not be overlooked that reading or studying on an empty, ill-nourished, or over-distended stomach is not conducive to health, wage-earning, or National prosperity.

Not to know what each one owns would, in commercial life, be considered as either idiotic or criminal negligence; and yet not one in ten can tell on which side of the body the liver is placed, while the vast majority complacently clasp their hands over some thirty feet of intestine when asked to locate the stomach, and of its structure, use, and care they know even less!

Human intelligence seems, at times, to have worked backward along the paths of knowledge. Medicine, theology, law, economics, and, yes, the cooking-school, these are all placed advantageously for

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the special student, but outside the schools of medicine the people are not taught as they should be taught concerning the uses and abuses of their own, divinely given, personal property—the human body.

To-day knowledge is said not to be limited to the favored few; this is so when compared with the limitations of but a few centuries past, but the fact remains that a wide field of practical helpfulness lies open, wherever human beings are gathered together, for simple instruction about this most marvelously arranged structure—this human house, with its foundation stones firmly cemented together; its furnace, pump, and system of pipes; its storage battery and systems of electric wires; its ventilators, chemical laboratories, sewage system, roof, and, yes, the very windows through which looks its tenant, the Soul, which, alas! is so often sadly deficient in knowledge both of its habitation and how to keep its mechanism attractively clean and useful for the good of the owner and others.

Colonial Policy in the Far East[1]

By Alleyne Ireland, F.R.G.S.

Colonial Commissioner of the University of Chicago; Author of "Tropical Colonization," etc.

THE series of articles which I have contributed to The Outlook during the past three years has presented some account of the colonial dependencies of the great Powers situated in the tropical regions of the Far East. In the introductory article of the series, published in The Outlook of November 22, 1902, I dealt with such general features of tropical civilization as appeared to form a proper subject of consideration before embarking upon a study of the specific problems of European and American administration in the Far East; and in bringing the series to a conclusion it may serve a useful purpose if I attempt to trace in the mass of facts which have passed under our notice some underlying unity of purpose, some coherent principle of action, some broad, general effects, as the cause or consequence of the activities which have formed the material of our inquiry.

The origin of Western rule in the various countries of southeastern Asia suggests a number of interesting comparisons and analogies.

In regard to the possessions of the four Powers which have fallen under our notice, the motives which lay behind their peaceful acquisition, or the circumstances which led to their conquest, place England and Holland in one category and the United States and France in another. At the time when England and Holland acquired their first Asiatic possessions, in the seventeenth century, the internal conditions of each country were such as to make colonial expansion a natural development of the forces which had been generated by the progress of discovery and the growth of commerce since the Middle Ages. Each country found itself face to face with serious economic problems arising out of the rigid monopoly of Asiatic trade which had been established by Spain and Portugal. For the Dutch this monopoly meant nothing less than national ruin from the moment when Portugal passed under the Spanish crown, and Spain, as part of her war policy against Holland, closed to Dutch ships the great Oriental trade on which the economic welfare of Holland depended. In England the conditions were not less favorable to the idea of oversea expansion. Already the country was over-populated in relation to the agricultural and industrial methods of the time, and an exaggerated idea of the wealth and prosperity of Spain and Portugal fostered the belief that in tropical commerce lay the economic salvation of the country.

To these causes of the commencement of an English trade with Asia may be added a national characteristic common to all peoples whose country is an island

[1] See editorial comment elsewhere in this number.—THE EDITORS.

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domain or has occupied an isolated position in relation to the general movement of human events during any considerable period of the national growth—namely, a strong resentment against any claim of superior or even of equal rights made by any foreign power in regard to matters touching the interests, real or imaginary, of the nation. The existence of this characteristic as a great national force may be traced with the greatest distinctness in the events of the past century. Isolated China regards herself as the mistress of the world, and has fought half a dozen wars in support of the idea; insular Japan has been quick to resent the interference of Russia in matters which affect Japanese interests on the mainland; the United States, which was practically isolated from Europe and Asia until within the memory of the present generation, has given the world the Monroe Doctrine as an expression of her intolerance of European interference in the affairs of the American continent.

The inordinate development of this characteristic in insular and in isolated countries is due to a simple cause. The inhabitants of such countries have never been compelled, as have the natives of Continental Europe, to live in intimate contact with other people having national traits and national policies equally developed with their own and possessed of powers of action immediately applicable to any purpose of the national will; and the absence of this contact has relieved the insular and isolated countries from the necessity of constantly adjusting their policies to the standard of what they can do rather than to that of what they wish to do. In other words, they have never been compelled to adopt give-and-take as the basis of their actions, and they have therefore had little training in the art of putting up with an international grievance simply because of the danger of attempting to secure redress. So, to the insular mind of the Englishman, the claims of Spain and Portugal to the sole right of navigation and trade in the Eastern seas appeared an intolerable pretension; and when the breach of that monopoly became a question of national pride as well as one of national profit, we find England joining Holland in an invasion of southeastern Asia and in the establishment of dependencies in that part of the world.

Such, in brief, was the origin of Dutch and British rule in the Far Eastern tropics, and to this day their presence rests almost entirely upon economic considerations.

When we turn our attention to France and the United States, we observe that these countries have become the neighbors of Holland and England in the Far East through causes totally different from those which have been described above. Neither France nor the United States has been driven to territorial expansion in Asia through the pressure of population at home; neither has had the excuse that the monopolistic policy of other nations has compelled it to conquer Asiatic countries in order to find a market for its manufactures or a suitable ground from which to draw its supplies of tropical products.

To the enterprise of France and of the United States the vast area of the British Empire is still as freely open as it is to the energy of Englishmen; and although this liberality has been rewarded in each case by a resort to every device which ingenuity could suggest as likely to injure the trade of England, there was no prospect, when France occupied Indo-China or when the United States acquired the Philippine Islands, that England intended to serve either country with a taste of its own policy. So we must seek to account for the presence of France and the United States in the Orient on other grounds than those of national necessity.

The case of the United States is simple in the extreme; it may be summed up in the phrase "expansion by accident." At the time of the outbreak of the Spanish-American War no one in the United States had any prevision that the conflict would result in the curious anticlimax of freeing one Spanish colony from the foreign yoke and fighting a war with another Spanish colony in order to keep it under a foreign yoke. The presence of the United States in the Philippines is merely a by-product of the liberation of Cuba; and the antithesis just established is purely dialec-

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tical, for it represents an unforeseen and unavoidable consequence of the Spanish-American War rather than a deliberate and prearranged departure from the National policy.

The French conquest of Indo-China during the latter half of the nineteenth century is one of a long series of colonial adventures in the tropics, which cannot be explained by reference to any real need of the French people for tropical dependencies. Viewed from the historic standpoint, French colonial expansion is divided into two periods. During the first of these France acquired her West Indian possessions and her foothold in India during the course of wars connected with various European quarrels; and although there was, no doubt, behind these wars some consideration of the value of tropical dependencies as such, their acquisition was not undertaken because they represented favorable areas for exploitation, but because their conquest was a move in the great game of European politics. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century France had lost practically the whole of her colonial empire; and the recrudescence of a policy of territorial aggrandizement in Asia occurred at a time when the causes which had led to the earlier colonial movement had ceased to have any bearing on national or on international affairs. The moment for planting colonies of Frenchmen in non-tropical countries, and thus securing a true extension of the French nation, was past, for even as early as the end of the Napoleonic wars every non-tropical portion of the world susceptible of conquest and settlement had been occupied by England or Russia, or was clearly marked (as in the case of Transcaucasia and Australasia) for such occupation. The only other material reason for colonial expansion, in the absence of a superabundant population, was the need of trade areas; and it was a need which France had not yet begun to feel.

The French conquest of Indo-China cannot, therefore, be attributed to the existence of any material interests which would have suffered if the country had remained independent or had fallen under other foreign control. The cause of the French action in this matter was the same as that in a hundred other colonial enterprises of the French people; and it rests on a mental trait and not on any material consideration which the nation at large has in view. The Frenchman is brave, patriotic, imaginative; and he is filled with a very proper pride in the great achievements of his nation. To a man of this temperament, the spectacle of other countries constantly engaged in oversea adventure, in adding island to island and province to province, and in reaping the rewards of exploration and warfare, could scarcely fail to prove an irresistible temptation; and so the history of modern French colonization is that of the pride of rivalry, the joy of emulation, rather than that of the persistent pursuit of a serious end closely related to the welfare of the nation.

If the origin of the Western governments in southeastern Asia exhibits a variety of causes operating towards the same result of alien control of numerous tropical territories, the principles on which these countries have been governed, and the methods of administration which have been adopted in them, are no less diverse in character. These differences have been discussed at some length in previous articles, and my present object is merely to draw such general conclusions as suggest themselves in a study and comparison of the facts already before us. England and Holland established themselves in the Far Eastern tropics through the agency of trading companies, and until the beginning of the nineteenth century the government of these commercial outposts was in the hands of tradesmen or investors in Europe. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the effective control of the British and Dutch dependencies in Asia passed to the legislatures of the sovereign States in Europe, although the trial of Warren Hastings, from which we date administrative reform in British India, commenced in 1788, and the bankruptcy of the Dutch East India Company, which threw the control of Netherlands-India into the hands of the crown, occurred in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

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The abuses which marred the administration of the Dutch and of the English East India Companies present an interesting difference in their general character. The Dutch, up to the time when their Company was abolished, had never exhibited any high qualities of colonial statesmanship; and the officials of Netherlands-India occupied themselves chiefly with such matters of trade policy as appealed to the imagination of the directors in Holland. The result is that there is little record of action in the higher field of colonial government, but a vast literature of commercial transactions. In this, material evidence is not lacking of serious evils in the local administration, and of severe oppression of the lower classes by the native rulers, who exacted from the people the amount of forced labor necessary to secure the trade products required by the Dutch. What oppression there was, what injustice befell, what suffering was endured, concerned a people who, for the purposes of historical record, were inarticulate; and thus in the early accounts of Netherlands-India there is no Warren Hastings trial, and no detailed revelations under the searchlight of European investigation.

In British India the circumstances were utterly different. Here the record contains comparatively little about the Company's shopkeeping, but is filled with the narrative of great and stirring events. The abuses of the Company's rule in British India seldom touched the common people; they affected the affairs of the most powerful native princes; and each grievance, real or imaginary, was magnified a thousandfold before it reached Europe, because the aggrieved person had the power, as well as the desire, to make himself heard. It is very easy, therefore, to fall into the common error of believing that the Dutch East India Company was more humane in its relations with the natives than its English rival; but it must be remembered that the evils of administration in British India, falling as they did chiefly on the upper classes, left the natives at large better off in many respects than they had been under their own rulers; whereas in Netherlands-India the worst effects of the system of government were felt only by the lower classes, which were the least able to defend themselves, or to leave any record of their treatment.

The gradual improvement of administrative methods in the British and Dutch dependencies in Asia is due to a number of causes. The growth of popular interest in colonial affairs which has followed the universal spread of newspapers and magazines among the public, the eagerness with which, under our modernized form of party government, the Opposition seizes upon any colonial topic which can be turned to political account, the increase of colonial travel and the augmentation of colonial trade which have taken place as a result of improved means of communication, the ability of instant protest and publicity at the seat of government which the submarine cable has placed at the disposal of every colonial malcontent—these factors have gone far towards removing all serious abuses in the government of those tropical dependencies which lie on or near the ordinary routes of commerce. But behind these elements of reform lies the mental development of the age, which has endowed us with such a keen sensitiveness to injustice or harshness of any kind that no evil which is great enough to reach the public, through any one of the numerous channels which are open to any one who has a tale to tell, can long remain unchecked.

The United States and France embarked upon their careers in southeastern Asia at the time when the principle of a just and tolerant rule over dependent races had already been accepted and applied by England and Holland. The French in Indo-China have based their administration upon the utilization of the native system of village government, and although the improvements in the mechanism of the higher control, which have been described in a previous article, are of very recent origin, there existed from the very first a certain sympathy with native ideas which can be traced in the record of administration, even when it shows most clearly a lack of wise adjustment to local conditions. In the final arrangements for the political

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control of Indo-China the French were fortunate in this, that they combined with a democratic sentiment, no less real than that of the United States, past experience of a democratic régime in the tropics—the useful heritage of their West Indian adventures—and they were thus saved from the disappointments and vexations which would have followed any attempt to establish a Western form of government on the banks of the Mekong.

No consideration of the American occupation of the Philippine Islands can lead to anything but confusion and misunderstanding unless at the outset emphasis is laid on the fact that none of the countries which have been the subject of our inquiry is in any sense a true colony, and that the whole significance of our data rests on the circumstance that there can never exist in any part of the Far Eastern tropics a population which is not, for all practical purposes, completely tropical in its general character. We have been dealing, then, not with colonies but with dependencies; and the vital importance of this distinction becomes more apparent when we consider, on the one hand, the general trend of development in each class of territory, and, on the other hand, the fallacies which have arisen in recent discussions of American expansion from the confusion of ideas due to an insufficient appreciation of the difference between the two kinds of subordinate countries. The War of American Independence was due to causes which had their origin in the inability or in the unwillingness of the British Government to realize the difference between a colony and a dependency; and the most important part of that war, as far as the British Empire was concerned, was the firm and final establishment of that difference in the public mind.

The nineteenth century witnessed the full expression of the new idea in the growth of British colonial policy. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, in a word, all the subordinate provinces of the British Empire in which white men are able to establish a permanent home, have been granted responsible self-government in a form which leaves them a mastery of their internal affairs as complete as that which is enjoyed by the component parts of the United States. But if the political destiny of non-tropical colonies is clearly indicated by the experience of the great self-governing States of the British Empire, that of tropical dependencies is not less surely revealed by the history of the government of tropical countries by white rulers. In the whole range of British imperial experience there cannot be found an instance of any territory, in which white men cannot effect a permanent settlement on a large scale, where there has not been established and maintained a strictly dependent form of government; and even in those tropical dependencies which enjoy a rudimentary system of representation we find that the final word in all matters is spoken by the Colonial Office. The colonial history of France also affords an excellent example of the evolution of dependent governments, and it discloses a complete change of political practice as a result of actual experiment. The older dependencies of France (Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion), which received their constitutions in the middle of the nineteenth century, at a time when the democratic enthusiasm of the French people was still in its first vigor, were endowed with representative institutions, and a vote was given to practically every negro. Between this act and the growth of the new colonial empire of France there intervened a period of thirty years, during which an opportunity was afforded of observing the operation of the liberal constitutions of the old dependencies.

Every writer whose opinions have fallen under my notice has placed himself on record in condemnation of the use to which the natives of the tropical dependencies of France have put the power intrusted to them for the management of their affairs. The history of those French dependencies which were granted popular government fifty years ago has been one of disorder, injustice, brutality, incompetence, and dishonesty. These facts became matters of common knowledge in France; and in the new French dependencies not a single constitution has been established which grants any effect-

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ive control of affairs to the people of the country.

In the tropical dependencies of Holland, Germany, and Portugal the government is entirely under the control of officials of the sovereign State.

Even when we turn to the oversea possessions of the United States we find that, as a matter of fact, despite a great deal of talk about self-government and not a little complacent oratory in regard to the wide liberality of American policy as compared with that of the European Powers, neither Porto Rico nor the Philippine Archipelago has yet been granted a constitution differing in any material political feature from that of a British tropical colony.

Finally, at the time this article goes to the printer, the United States has found it necessary to assume control of the financial affairs of Santo Domingo (one of the so-called Republics which reared themselves on the ruins of the Spanish Empire in America), which has gone from bad to worse during two generations of self-government.

The literature which treats of the recent expansion of the United States has already assumed the proportions of a library; but it is not necessary to make a very extended excursion into this field of study in order to discover that a great number of writers have drawn their arguments in favor of the establishment of popular self-government in the Philippines from a mistaken reference to the experience of the British non-tropical colonies or of non-tropical Japan.

If Canada and Australia are capable of self-government, why, we are asked, may not the Philippines look forward to a time when they too shall enjoy complete control of their internal affairs? To this query the facts which I have presented above should furnish a convincing reply. The reason why no such future is possible for the Philippines is that universal experience has shown that the inhabitants of a tropical country, where the native character has not been radically affected by the admixture of European blood, are not capable and cannot be made capable of maintaining a political system which can so administer the government as to avoid serious complications with foreign Powers as a result of the disorder which is the invariable accompaniment of purely native rule.

As far as I am able to judge from a perusal of the general current literature of the day relative to the question of American oversea expansion, the appeal to past experience as a guide to present action is regarded as doctrinaire and wide of the mark. Although no attempt is made to controvert the overwhelming mass of facts which go to place the Philippine Islands in exactly the same category as all other tropical dependencies; although the United States has had some experience within its own borders of the political capacities of a tropical race which is for many reasons more favorably situated than are the Filipinos for the enjoyment of popular self-govment; although South and Central America, where the mass of the voters are greatly superior to what will constitute the same class in the Philippines, are speaking witnesses of the incapacity of tropical peoples for independent self-government, the American people seem prepared to accept hope rather than experience as the basis of their policy. We are assured that in a few years the Philippine Islands will be enjoying complete internal self-government under a system of popular elections, and that the next generation is to witness a Filipino nation working out its own salvation as an independent State. As an ideal this leaves nothing to be desired; as a practical question of what is possible and what is impossible it lacks only a single hope of success which can be founded on any human experience of which the history of the tropics bears record. The experiment in the meantime is being undertaken at the expense and at the risk of the Filipino people; and it should not be overlooked that what for the United States is little more than a matter of interesting observation is for the Philippine Islands an affair of the most vital importance.

In conclusion, I may say that I should be very well pleased if I could be as certain, after fifteen years of study in the tropics, that my views on colonial government are right as a great many

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people who have never been in the tropics are certain that they are wrong.

I have endeavored, in the course of the series of articles which is now brought to a conclusion, to present to the readers of The Outlook the best results of my observations; and I am not conscious of having written from preconceived prejudice or with the smallest personal bias.

A Library of History[1]

TWO important historical works, widely contrasted in their mode of presenting the story of human life, have recently appeared—the "Cambridge Modern History," and the "Historians' History of the World." The former is the latest development of the modern type. The readers of The Outlook are acquainted with its peculiarity of portioning the various chapters—of United States History, for instance—among a dozen or more specialists, severally limited to a small part of the field. The latter, on the other hand, is a modern improvement of the ancient mode of writing history seen in the Old Testament. The documentary theory worked out by the higher criticism in its exhibition of the separate writings woven together into a single book, such as Genesis, has made this type of historical composition widely known. However uncritically the final editor, or editors, wove together those strands of earlier narrative regardless of discrepancies, the vigor and freshness that constitute their perennial charm were preserved as they could not otherwise have been.

This ancient plan, corrected by the critical editing that the modern spirit requires, not only bringing together the best material extant, but presenting it in the very form given by its writers, has evident attractiveness. There is a flavor in the story of Greece as told by Herodotus and Thucydides, or of Rome in the words of Livy and Tacitus, that is lost in the modern digests of these masters. Then, if one would follow the ancient historian with the critical interpretation that the modern has reached, it is much to have at hand in the same volume the judgments of such authorities for Greece as Curtius, Grote, and Mahaffy, or of Niebuhr, Merivale, and Mommsen for Rome. In still another way than this the "Historians' History" draws from the modern specialist as well as from the early writer. Its continuous documentary web of more than two thousand writers, ancient and modern, is fringed by chapters in which the large and general aspects of this or that period are critically reviewed by eminent scholars. The "Principles of Law in Islam," the "Intellectual Development of Russia," a "Characterization of the Tudor and Stuart Periods," the "Political Evolution of France since 1815," the "Essentials of American Diplomacy," are specimens of this important series of special articles. Akin to these in importance are the great public documents that mark turning-points in national history, or stadia in human progress; for instance, the more important international treaties, as that of Vienna in 1815, which closed the Napoleonic wars, the recently discovered code of Hammurabi, B.C. 2300, the Capitulary of Charlemagne, A.D. 802, The Truce of God, 1085, Magna Charta, the English Bill of Rights, the Constitution of the German Empire, the Constitution of Japan. It is worth much to have such papers at hand in a single work.

The recent completion of this encyclopædic History by the appearance of its twenty-fourth volume requires a notice of it supplementary to that in The Outlook June 25, 1904, upon its small first installment. Amid twenty fresh volumes one naturally examines the nearest. Nearly six volumes are occupied with the history of English-speaking peoples, and nearly the whole of one volume with the history of the United States. Here the general description above given becomes especially appreciable by Ameri-

[1] *The Historians' History of the World. A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations as Recorded by over Two Thousand of the Great Writers of All Ages.* Edited, with the Assistance of a Distinguished Board of Advisers and Contributors, by Henry Smith Williams, LL.D. In 25 vols. The Outlook Co., 225 Fourth Avenue, New York.

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can readers. The earliest data appear in the words of the pioneers themselves, and in their own curious spelling. The beginnings of the Virginia colony are related by Captain John Smith in his account of the landing at Jamestown, and by President Wingfield in the narrative of his colony's early privations. The beginnings of the Plymouth Colony are related in extracts from Governor Bradford's "Plimoth Plantation," the precious MS. recently restored to the State of Massachusetts by the Bishop of London. Then the great historians enter with Bancroft in Catholic Maryland and Puritan Massachusetts. Few American families possess the complete works of our four or five greatest national historians. Not many indulge themselves in more than a single volume of their country's story. It is a distinct satisfaction to find so many of the choice pages of Bancroft and Parkman, McMaster and Fiske, Schouler, and others of equal note, brought together in one book. Here are Parkman's brilliant narratives of the defeat of Braddock near where Pittsburg now stands, and of the destruction of the French power on this continent by Wolfe at Quebec. Here are Bancroft's famous story of the embattled farmers of Lexington, and Creasy's account of the overthrow of Burgoyne at Saratoga as one of "the fifteen decisive battles of the world." The record of the Revolution is condensed into about fifty pages, yet makes room for Charles Francis Adams's sharp critique, and a rebuttal of it, on the generalship of Washington, and is supplemented by a statesmanlike view of the struggle in a paper on "Some Important Aspects of the American Revolution" by Professor McLaughlin, of the Carnegie Institution. In the list of authorities quoted on the Revolutionary War one misses the brilliant and impartial work of Sir George Trevelyan.

The subsequent domestic struggle for National unity, and the struggle with England for the freedom on the ocean that had been won on the continent, are appropriately grouped in a chapter on "The Establishment of the Union." Here the rule, followed throughout the work, in cases of a disagreement of authorities, of presenting the divergent views to the reader's judgment, is illustrated by the juxtaposition of the different estimates of the Constitution made by Professors Hart and von Holst. Relating to the war of 1812–15 several extracts are drawn from the writings of Mr. Roosevelt, and Professor Hart describes the formidable secession movement in New England, fortunately nipped by the return of peace. And so the history runs on through the succeeding decades to the close of the Civil War, embodying many reprints from copyrighted works on points of special importance, such as the Constitution of the Confederacy, or the battle of Gettysburg, and concluding with an original chapter on the period from 1865 to the election of last November.

Aside from such minor slips as may naturally occur amid a host of details, two serious points of criticism require mention. The war with Mexico was condemned at the time by many good citizens. Eight States of the twenty-five then in the Union had protested against the annexation of Texas as certain to provoke it. Enlightened public sentiment now regards it as a blot on our National record. Not only is the contemporary opposition to it glossed over, but a somewhat apologetic tone is adopted. As to the slavery question, and its part in bringing on the Civil War, there should have been some hint of the turnabout made from the time when anti-slavery societies flourished and manumissions were frequent in the slaveholding States to the time when, a generation later, slavery became, as Alexander Stephens confessed, the corner-stone of the Confederacy. Some account of this regressive movement is required for an understanding of the strange plunge made in 1861. In lack of this, the reader may suppose that Southern sentiment toward slavery had undergone no change, and that the slaveholding interest remained the same under Jefferson Davis as under Thomas Jefferson. All that appears of this is the statement that the seceding States were marked by an "arrested development." But this was the direct product of the change of heart regarding slavery, which

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paralyzed the National spirit that had pervaded the North, and made it possible to form a confederacy on a theory of the Constitution that the North had outgrown. President Woodrow Wilson's chapter on "State Rights" in the Cambridge Modern History has recently made this thoroughly clear. This alone explains how the Constitution that created the Union came to be turned against the Union, and it required statement.

Careful and adequate treatment marks the account of the prehistoric period of our continent, and the succeeding century of exploration and discovery. In this remote and obscure field good editorial work has been done. The curious Icelandic and Norse Sagas of voyages to the mysterious western land are incorporated in the narrative, with other interesting original documents, such as Verrazano's report in 1524 to the French King, the disputed genuineness of which is now fairly vindicated, of the voyage in which he entered New York Bay, and the Spanish missionary Las Casas's relation of the enormities perpetrated by his countrymen. A pendant to the story of Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony of Roanoke is given in Bancroft's noble tribute to its heroic and ill-fated founder. To the disinherited Indian a full chapter is accorded, in which are embodied Parkman's sketch of Indian life and character and Mr. Roosevelt's description of Indian warfare.

After the story of our own country that of the British Empire comes, or should come, next in interest for us, created by our kinsmen, and now including one-fourth of the world's land area and more than one-fourth of its population. The volume concerned with all of it outside of its island center opens with the remarkable survey of it contributed to the Encyclopædia Britannica in 1902 by Lady Lugard, wife of the distinguished Governor of British Nigeria. The story of British India which follows is illuminated with Macaulay's pictures of those heroic but faulty potentates, Clive and Hastings, Justin McCarthy's tragic tale of Cawnpore and its victims of the Mutiny, Alison's narrative of the hundred years' dominion of that unparalleled corporation, the East India Company, and sketches of the great viceroys down to Lord Curzon, together with a recital of the reforms and progress due to British rule. Here, however, in the closing paragraph on the incipient regeneration of India, one finds no reference to what a century of Christian missions has contributed to the present "weakening of the iron bands of caste, custom, and spiritual authority." This fact, put beyond dispute by the declarations of British officials, that American missionaries have benefited the people of India more than any other agency, certainly deserved recognition here.

Matters of closer interest to us are the agrarian, industrial, and socialistic experiments now proceeding in Australia and New Zealand, of which a full relation is given, together with the provisions of the recent Act creating the Australian Commonwealth. But Canada has a peculiar claim for the friendly regard of our Union, as the creation of our former countrymen, the loyalists in our Revolutionary struggle—men then unjustly vilified, but in the saner judgment of modern history rehabilitated in proper respect. These men, then expatriated, some fifty thousand, including many of high distinction, became "the makers of Canada," "an army of leaders," as a Canadian historian affirms. The history of the stormy struggle for constitutional government which they and their descendants led is fully narrated to its result in the adoption of those principles of self-government which at an earlier period would have retained "the old Thirteen" in their allegiance to the British crown. To the turbulent history of South Africa nearly as much space is given as to Australia, New Zealand, and Canada together, a disproportion explained but hardly justified by transient popular interest. The thirteen pages devoted to the details of the recent war, as described by both Boer and British authorities, seem a rather large concession, in a work of this character, to the temporary attractiveness of the subject.

"Brave little Holland," that "commonwealth of sand-banks, lagoons, and meadows," which through a half-century of warfare wrested liberty from the mightiest European monarchy, comes

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next after our mother country in its interest for us as a contributor to our National ideas and ideals. The history of the Netherlands, including hers, occupies about two-thirds of a volume. The chapter on Science, Art, and Literature is a fair specimen of the regard to such topics throughout this work. Here are famous leaders of the world's thought—Spinoza, as depicted by Schlosser; and, a name more honored now than in his lifetime, Grotius, the father of international law, as portrayed by Taine. Here also is a school of famous painters, among them Rembrandt, Rubens, and Vandyke, with the estimates passed upon them severally by Taine, Moke, and Fromentin. The narrative of the grand revolt from Spanish tyranny is starred not only with Motley's sketches of its great characters, but with the story of the Arctic exploration and Oriental commerce in which, while still in their fight with Spain, the sturdy Hollanders excelled the world. One must wish, however, that the sweeping condemnation recorded against the Anabaptists for the turbulence and bestiality of some of them had received its proper qualification in an editorial note.

At present, while all eyes are turned toward Russia and Japan, the chapters on Old Japan and New Japan command attention through their picture of an unparalleled national spirit which their mere contrast presents. The same criticism must be made here as in the case of India. It is rather surprising, since mention is made of the suppression in the seventeenth century of the mediæval Christianity introduced by Roman Catholic missionaries, to find among the marks of New Japan no mention of its reception of Christianity to-day, which, especially among the upper classes, is more rapid than in any other non-Christian nation. Among the important public documents appended is the text of the treaty with Great Britain in 1902, which secured Japan against a European combination in her present conflict. On the other hand, an essay by Dr. Rappoport, of Paris, on the Intellectual Development of Russia admirably illuminates the present crisis there, and the gulf between "Mongolism" and the "intellectuals." New points of view emerge. The Holy Alliance, the scheme of which was drafted by Alexander I., is known to most Americans only as the provocative of the Monroe Doctrine. Here it is spread before us as a religious more than a political scheme, not for aggression but for fraternity and peace. The detailed and graphic picture given of Alexander as a "religious mystic and humanitarian" is curiously suggestive of a trait of his descendant, the originator of the Peace Conference at The Hague. The Conventions there adopted and the second Alexander's Edict of Emancipation are in the annexed list of public documents. From those of us who have taken the plunge into world-politics, a unique though minute feature of this work will claim attention—the chapter on the so-called "buffer States" of Asia, the names of which few of us yet know, constituting the neutral zone between British holdings on one side and French and Russian on the other.

The field of antiquarian as well as of modern interest seems to be duly covered. The historical version of the fall of Babylon, exhumed in ancient inscriptions, and contrasting with the account of it in the Book of Daniel, is a specimen of the valuable results of recent explorations here furnished to the Bible student. The student of Shakespeare finds here in the legends of Denmark the story of Amleth, on which the tragedy of Hamlet was based; and in Scott and Robertson's accounts of the real Macbeth he will realize how a character on the whole respectable has been blackened by an immortal fiction.

Features of the work that were mentioned in The Outlook's preliminary review may be omitted here. But what was there briefly said of it as the work of a company of university men should be supplemented by saying that in the list of thirty editorial contributors and revisers such names appear as Professors Oman and Cheyne, of Oxford, Wellhausen, of Göttingen, Nöldeke, of Strassburg, Vambéry, of Budapest, Rambaud, of Paris, Möllendorff, Harnack, and others, of Berlin, Hart, of Harvard, and Shotwell, of Columbia. The editor-in-chief, Henry Smith Williams, LL.D., a

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graduate of Iowa University and the Chicago Medical College, a specialist in neurology, has equipped himself for his task by years of study in Europe.

While a mousing critic will find many an opportunity in a work so comprehensive and multifarious, fair judgment will conclude, after all reasonable criticism, that the editors of the "Historians' History" have succeeded well in a very difficult undertaking. They have assembled the standard historians of the centuries, a great host, to narrate in orderly sequence the long story of mankind. The result is no mere series of quotations, but a narrative in which part is so fitted to part by skillful editorial writing as to give smoothness and continuity to the whole, whose components can easily be traced to their authors, if the reader so desires. The spirit and fullness of the earlier writers is thus preserved, while the historical perspective, which only time can supply, especially in the estimate of critical events and commanding personages, is presented by their successors and reviewers. And so, while essays by learned specialists are added, to open the broader aspects and interpret the profounder meanings of the general movement made up of countless conflicting currents, the scientific as well as the dramatic and popular desideratum of the historian is secured. A work so constituted and characterized, enriched also with the great documents of national history and advancing civilization, appeals to all classes of readers with a many-sided attractiveness. With its elaborate index, occupying a twenty-fifth volume now nearly completed, it will have a surpassing value for historical reference.

A Study in Early American History[1]

TO trace the early development of English colonization on its political and administrative side; to study the origin of English-American political institutions; to indicate the forms in which English institutions were reproduced on this side of the Atlantic; and to exhibit the factors tending to the development of self-government in the continental colonies, are the objects of what Professor Herbert L. Osgood has modestly termed a "work of some complexity." The results of his inquiries, as embodied in his "The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," present, in point of fact, the first attempt by a single author at an interpretation of the formative period of the colonies, viewing them from the institutional standpoint. While it is yet too early to pass a final judgment on this interpretation—for in the volumes before us the author deploys merely the American side of the problem—there can be no question of the importance of the work, nor of the promise it holds out of providing the student with an adequate and lucid introduction to American institutional history. In this, Professor Osgood finds the justification for his undertaking, since, as he points out, although there are general and constitutional histories of the period and of the United States, no one has hitherto attempted an institutional history of the colonies, without which "the period can never be properly understood. A correct view of the forms of colonial government, of the relations between the church and the civil power in the colonies, of the legal relations between the colonies and the mother country, and of other but similar questions, is absolutely fundamental. The time has come when we must know in some connected way how the Atlantic, so to speak, was institutionally bridged."

To this end, therefore, the historian subordinates his treatment of all matters connected with the various colonies, all of which save Georgia, which was not founded until the eighteenth century, fall under his observation. Their social and economic problems are discussed only so far as they illumine the leading theme, while exhaustive consideration is given to their civil and religious polity, their fiscal, land, and military systems, and their relations with one another and the

[1] *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century.* By Herbert L. Osgood. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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native Americans—phenomena in which may most clearly be traced "their slow unfolding and change." For this purpose the matter of classification becomes of great importance, and at the outset Professor Osgood departs from the traditional differentiation of the colonies into "charter, proprietary, and royal." Viewed institutionally, the "proprietary" were "charter" colonies, and are classed by him as such, the line of demarcation being drawn between "corporate colonies" of the New England type, and the "proprietary provinces" of the middle and south Atlantic seacoast. Here a further distinction can well be made, for while in the proprietary provinces, whether founded by trading companies or individuals, institutions shaded off into one another, the corporate colonies of New England "were practically commonwealths and developed with scarcely any recognition of the sovereignty of England. Their ecclesiastical polity differed from that of England. Their land system and the relations between their executives and legislatures were peculiar to themselves. They founded a confederation without the consent of the home government, taking advantage of the civil troubles in England for the purpose." This, taken together with the initiatory differences between the joint-stock system of the earlier proprietary provinces and the individualistic management of the later, gives us a classification that is at once clearly defined and methodical, offering a well-formulated working plan for the treatment of the different colonies in the transition period between "charter" and "royal."

Of the volumes to hand the first is given over to the abortive experiments of Gilbert and Raleigh in founding settlements in the New World, to the first proprietary province, Virginia, and to the corporate colonies of New England; the second, to the later proprietary provinces and to a systematic survey of the colonies as a whole, at the close of the period under discussion. Almost at the beginning of the study of Virginia we find allusion to the theory of environment that is to occupy a prominent place throughout both volumes as going far to explain not only the nature of the earliest colonies but the course of their development of a spirit of independence. In the proprietary provinces this spirit, impacting against inefficient or idiosyncratic administration, led to what the writer has been pleased to term "the anarchical tendencies of colonial life," unrest, instability, and the absorption of the provinces by the crown, with the disappearance, before the end of the seventeenth century, of nearly all of the colonies of this type; in the corporate colonies, on the other hand, the very nature of their being gave them a congenial organization from the outset, with the result that they long enjoyed a *de facto* self-government. At the same time, and particularly in Massachusetts, which is made the subject of most searching inquiry, the system adopted could not be called democratic. Professor Osgood paints seventeenth-century Massachusetts as ruled by an oligarchy, a close alliance between the magistrates and the clergy "for the purpose of upholding a system of strict orthodoxy," and adds that "no body of men in the history of the world ever mastered more thoroughly the art of forming and maintaining a compact political organization than did the magistrates and elders of Massachusetts." His desire to illustrate fully the workings of the system leads him into a detailed examination of the Roger Williams, Antinomian, and Quaker cases, and while he severly criticises Puritan methods, processes, and modes of thought, he does not withhold a generous meed of praise for the impetus they gave to solidarity and independence. "In spirit and ideals," he declares, "New England was *sui generis*. So far did its colonies on the whole carry their tendencies toward independence that their position became to a degree anomalous, even in the early English colonial system." While, in concluding his survey of the proprietary colonies, he takes occasion to observe: "In form of government the resemblance between the normally developed province and the English monarchy as it existed in the seventeenth century is clear. In the case of the corporate colonies the analogy fails, and the predominance of their general courts

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resulted in a system which in its main outlines was more like England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the supremacy of Parliament had been fully established and acknowledged."

From the foregoing it will readily be perceived that the writer's main contention is that in the seventeenth century, and especially in the corporate colonies, the foundations of American liberty were laid. He is necessarily at pains to show how the democratic leaven found entrance into both types of colony, and how it affected each individually. It is manifestly out of the question to follow him in his laborious researches into the early history of each colony; it must here suffice to say that he marshals an exceedingly strong array of evidence to establish his case. An interesting factor in democratization upon which he lays stress was the Society of Friends, with its strongholds in West Jersey, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. The significance of the Quakers in our history is summed up in a passage deserving of citation as exhibiting the trend of development depicted in the studies of the several colonies:

> The significance of the Quakers in American history arises from the fact that their ideas coincided well with the prevailing tendencies of colonial life. The most of the colonists came from the same social classes as did the Quakers. They pursued similar occupations. As they removed into the wilderness and their children grew up under frontier conditions, the traditions of the Old World, to an extent, lost their hold upon them. The aristocrats of Europe were almost totally absent, and society assumed a more democratic form. Local institutions sprang up, in which the colonists shared to a greater or less extent. With their preservation the idealized conception of inherited English liberties became interwoven. In judicial administration substantial justice rather than the strict observance of legal forms was sought. The military spirit was weaker than it was even in England, and the occasions for its activity in most of the colonies were less numerous than in any part of the Old World. Religious intolerance, except in its minor exhibitions, by the time Pennsylvania was founded had become impossible. With all these tendencies the opinion of the Quakers concerning the oath, war, religious freedom, trial by jury, strict limitation of the power of the Executive in the interest of popular liberty, quite fully coincided. Wherever they settled in considerable numbers, religious freedom must necessarily exist, clerical influence would be greatly lessened, the power of the legislature would be fully developed, the tendency toward an elective official system would be strong, the centralizing of power, which is often the consequence of war, would be difficult. . . . The equality and individualism of colonial life found their counterpart in Quaker tendencies and beliefs. Quakerism acted as a powerful solvent on the feudal and monarchical elements in the constitution of the province.

Professor Osgood's picture of William Penn himself is a refreshing return to the view which upholds the disinterestedness of the great founder. "Unlike the Carolina proprietors and some of the Calverts," it concludes, "he never sought to play the autocrat, or by sharp management to monopolize political power. Unlike the leaders of Massachusetts, though establishing a Quaker province, he expressly renounced the idea of restricting political rights within it to members of his own sect. In him and in his sect appeared many of the tendencies which were finally to triumph and to constitute the distinctively American spirit. Fewer obstacles to the ultimate prevalence of that spirit were erected by him than by any other proprietor." Administrative studies of such other noteworthy figures as Gorges, Sandys, Winthrop, Dudley, Endicott, the second Lord Baltimore, Stuyvesant, the Duke of York, and Andros, from the standpoint of the interaction between these leaders and the colonists, form interesting supplements to the institutional investigations proper, further variety being afforded by occasional glimpses of the social life of the period. Method of presentation and clarity of statement are other commendatory traits, leading us to entertain high hopes of the third volume, in which the writer intends to round out his task by an examination of the beginnings of imperial administration and control of the colonies.

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Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Albert Durer. By T. Sturge Moore. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8 in. 343 pages. $2, net.

Much as has been said of the "father of German painting," there always seems to be room for another word, and Mr. Moore has taken full advantage of this, proffering at once a biography of the artist, a study of the philosophy of his art, and a critical survey of his paintings, drawings, metal engravings, and woodcuts. Mr. Moore also embraces the opportunity to deliver himself of a few remarks concerning art and art criticism in general, going on record as opposed to prevailing modes and standards. Unluckily, the criticism he applies to Dürer as a writer—"his thoughts were often more abundant than he knew how to deal with"—may be to some degree applied to himself, and particularly to that portion of his present work treating of general ideas important to the comprehension of Dürer's life and art. We confess that it is extremely difficult to follow him here, the difficulty being enhanced by a tendency to Chestertonese paradox. Like the clever English essayist, however, Mr. Moore is always interesting, and perhaps never more interesting than when he is least convincing. His work is certainly a stimulating addition to the series in which it finds place. We could wish that a wider range of illustrations had been possible, but recognize the limitations under which the selection was made. The four copperplates included atone for much in this respect.

Art of Preserving Animal Tracks (The). By J. Alden Loring. Published by the Author, Owego, Tioga County, N. Y. 6½×9 in. 12 pages. $1.

Mr. Loring describes in this pamphlet a very ingenious and apparently effective method of making molds, and from the molds casts, of the tracks of mammals and birds, large and small. Plaster of Paris is employed for preserving the impressions, and the other materials and implements used may be had at a very small expenditure. The operation itself is clearly and minutely described, and seemingly could be easily managed by any intelligent boy. The process opens up a new field for nature study, and one the cultivation of which may be heartily encouraged, since it brings the student into the closest contact with nature without taking the lives of animals or even depriving them of their freedom. And the results are permanent.

Atonement and Modern Thought (The). By Rev. Junius B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D. The Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia. 5×8 in. 223 pages. $1.

Dr. Remensnyder makes a vigorous presentation of the Lutheran conception of the Atonement in its antagonism to the characteristic tendencies of modern thought. As thus conceived it was an objective transaction in which Christ as the sinner's substitute bore the punishment due to sin. The Atonement thus viewed is presented here as the central truth of Christianity. Here is the rift that divides the Christian camp at present. The ground of division is deeper than Dr. Remensnyder seems to be aware of. His view of the Atonement grows naturally out of a conception of God that is essentially deistic. When one passes over from deism to theism, the whole perspective changes; the Incarnation takes the central place formerly occupied by the Atonement; the entire conception of the supernatural is transformed. If Dr. Remensnyder and those he speaks for understood all this by experience, they would not misunderstand and misrepresent many Christian brethren.

As Wild Birds Sing. By Mary Randall Shippey. Robert Grier Cooke, New York. 5×7¼ in. 118 pages.

Balkan Question (The). Edited by Luigi Villari. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 362 pages. $3, net.

An authoritative symposium on the past, present, and future of the Macedonian question, designed to draw the attention of Englishmen to existing conditions in the Balkan peninsula, to convince them that the reforms instituted by the Mürzsteg Scheme of 1903 have proved ineffectual, and that it is impossible to reform Turkey from within, and to persuade them that the time has come for England, France, and Italy to combine, with or without the so-called interested Powers, Austria and Russia, to bring about European control. The spirit of the work is indicated in the opening chapter, in which Mr. James Bryce declares that the question at issue is "the best means of removing or mitigating the evils from which the Turkish East suffers, and of facilitating, with as little strife and bloodshed as may be, that extinction of Ottoman rule which is plainly inevitable." In addition to contributions by English investigators setting forth the history and present aspects of the problem, there are chapters by French and Italian writers discussing the attitude and duty of their respective countries. We know of no other volume exhibiting the subject so comprehensively and so clearly from the pro-Macedonian standpoint.

Bible (The): From the Standpoint of the Higher Criticism. By Ramsden Balmforth. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 362 pages.

Limiting himself in this volume to the Old

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Testament, the author gives a lucid and popularly written account of the results of modern critical study. From the cloud of past misunderstanding and delusion he brings out the ethical and religious value of the Book into clear recognition by the unbiased and conscientious reader.

Bible, Its Origin and Nature (The): Bross Lectures, 1904. By Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7¾ in. 245 pages. $1, net.

This volume contains the lectures given at Lake Forest College in May, 1904. Dr. Dods, a master of his subject, is a candid but conservative thinker, ready to go a mile with more radical critics, but resolute against going two. He states his argument with great ability, and meets objectors with ingenuity and skill. This is the first volume published on the foundation which Lieutenant-Governor Bross, of Illinois, provided in 1879, with a view to the defense of "the religion of the Bible . . . as commonly received in the Presbyterian and other evangelical churches."

Billy Duane. By Frances Aymar Mathews. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 361 pages. $1.50.

This love story of an estranged couple, told in a style that is a composite of "The Duchess" and certain more modern and strenuous American writers, will be sufficiently interesting to any reader likely to take it up, but particularly to one who knows well his New York. The politics of this city and its "smart" society are entertainingly considered along with the romance of its Mayor, the "Billy Duane" of the book.

Changeless Christ and Other Sermons (The). By Rev. Robert Forbes, D.D. (The Methodist Pulpit.) Eaton & Mains, New York. 4½×7½ in. 116 pages.

Christus in Ecclesia. By Hastings Rashdall, D.Litt., D.C.L. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 364 pages. $1.50, net.

Dr. Rashdall is an efficient representative of the Broad Church group in the Anglican Establishment. In this volume of discourses he addresses himself especially to educated men and women. He is concerned lest religion should be crowded out of life, either by revolt against narrow ecclesiasticism or by the pressure of other concerns. He does not allow the attacks of "ribald ecclesiastical journals" upon the liberal theology that he accepts to blind him to the danger inseparable from it, as from freedom of other sorts—the danger of neglecting the external expressions of religion. "If we do not want Christianity to disappear from our private thoughts and inmost motives, its external manifestations must not disappear from our lives." To explain some Christian institutions, ideas, and practices to educated hearers, with a view to promote an interest in the Church and its ordinances at once rational and reverent, is therefore the main object of these discourses. Starting from a review of the Oxford Movement as having restored the idea of the Church to its due prominence in Christian thought, Dr. Rashdall discusses in considerable detail the institutional side of Christianity. The breadth and thoroughness of the discussion make the volume a helpful contribution to the reconstructive work now going on in religious thought. It necessarily deals with some controverted questions, but the general aim is practical. There is a note of reality, and of an intentness on reality, running through all these discourses, whatever the special topic, that is at present the quality most needed and most welcome in such discussions.

Church and the Good Samaritan (The): Mission Addresses to Men. By F. N. Westcott, Ph.B. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7½ in. 218 pages. $1, net.

This is a popular and clever presentation of the way of salvation through the Church and her Sacraments, according to the Anglo-Catholic belief. Incidentally it also exhibits the social and humanitarian spirit of Christianity. The preacher's polemic attitude toward the principles of Protestantism, as held by Luther, Calvin, and their followers, has betrayed him into the unenviable attitude of a caricaturist.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea. By William Rainey Harper. (The International Critical Commentary.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 425 pages. $3, net.

The indefatigable energy of President Harper finds a striking illustration in this sentence in the preface to this volume: "In all these years of administrative concern I have had recourse for change, comfort, and courage to my work on the Twelve Prophets." The combination of energetic administration and quiet, contemplative scholarship is too much for most men to attempt, still less to accomplish. To pass from the one mood to the other—no, from one temperament to the other—would seem to most men of either temperament not a feat even to be essayed. Dr. Harper has accomplished this. No one can question the energy of his administration as President of the Chicago University, and we think no one will question the thoroughness of the scholarship in this book. Dr. Harper is in thorough sympathy with the modern analytical method of the study of the Bible. He correctly says that the reconstruction of the text is the first duty of a commentator in the study of such writers as Amos and Hosea. He has no dread of the suggestion that the Old Testament history, as well as the history of other nations, contains a large legendary element. He recognizes without hesitation the element of wonderland in the series of Elisha's miracles. And yet he also recognizes the profound moral and spiritual significance of the Old Testament history, the conception of God and of righteousness underlying such incidents as Elijah's struggle with Ahab and the priests of Baal, the Naboth story, and the Nathan-David story. At some points in his interpretation of the pre-prophetic period we are not able to agree with him, as in his view of the date of the Ten Commandments in their

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original form, and of the Book of the Covenant in which those Commandments are found. We should give to both an earlier date than Dr. Harper allows, probably because our conception of the nature of spiritual evolution would differ from his. But taken as a whole his book combines thorough technical scholarship with large measure of ethical and spiritual insight, and we think his Commentary on Amos and Hosea will take its place among the best in this very excellent series.

Down to the Sea. By Morgan Robertson. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7½ in. 312 pages. $1.25.

Short stories of shipboard experiences, real and imaginary; some amusing, some vividly realistic, and others impressive by virtue of the style, even when farthest from the probable.

Educational Evangelism: The Religious Discipline for Youth. By Charles E. McKinley. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 5×7½ in. 265 pages, $1, net.

This is an important contribution to a subject of high importance, the religious training of youth during the period of adolescence. The author observes that the Church cannot expect to do her work for youth in a few weeks, when nature requires ten years for hers. If young men absent themselves from the church, something is wrong in the church's methods. The Sunday-school cannot satisfy the youth's needs; "the school of worship" in the church is the place to meet them. The ideal type of Christianity is social; its ideal is the realization of the kingdom of God. What youth needs is the social adjustment given by the religious spirit in the conduct of life. This evangelistic process is educational, and its progressively attained result is the realization of the divine in the human. Though a small book, this is full of judicious thought well worthy of thoughtful consideration.

Eighteenth Century in English Caricature (The). By Selwyn Brinton, M.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4½×6¼ in. 96 pages. $1, net.

A mere sketch of the subject, but an intelligent and discriminating one.

English Architecture. By Thomas Dinham Atkinson. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4×7 in. 236 pages. $1.25.

A simple exposition of what the author calls the mere elements or grammar of the great subject of English architecture. It has many drawings which bring out the definitions with marked distinctness. Such examination as we have been able to give the book indicates that it is an acceptable primer for students of the history and character of English architectural development.

Eye, Mind, Energy, and Matter (The). By Chalmers Prentice, M.D. Published by the Author, Chicago. 5×7½ in. 131 pages. $1.50, net

Golden Hope (The): A Story of the Time of King Alexander the Great. By Robert H. Fuller. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 402 pages.

To readers with a predilection for historical fiction this romance of Alexander's wars of conquest will more especially commend itself. Others may find it over long and rather too heavily freighted with descriptive detail.

Greek Thinkers: A History of Ancient Philosophy. By Theodor Gomperz. Vols. II. and III. Translated by G. G. Berry, B.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5¾×9¼ in. $4 per vol.

An adequate review of this elaborate work would involve a discussion far exceeding the available space. Of the first volume an account was given some time since. The second volume, after an introductory sketch of changes in faith and morals in Greece during the fifth century B.C., and the causes and conditions of the intellectual splendor of Athens at that time, proceeds to a careful measure of Athens's grandest figure, Socrates. This opens into the history of the prodigious philosophical movement to which his passion for pure intellectual concepts gave rise—a history which fills the remainder of the present volumes, but gives such amplitude of space to Plato that the third volume stops short of Aristotle and his successors. Dr. Gomperz makes no attempt to extract a systematized philosophy from Plato, but only to record the development of his thought with as much certainty and clearness as possible. A critical study of the course and structure of his successive works fills thirteen chapters, besides those devoted to the general features of his philosophy. No translations are given; the arguments are concisely stated; fallacies, where they occur, are noted; cognates and echoes in modern thought are brought in. The reader is not merely introduced to Plato as a literary artist and thinker, but is given a view of the inner working of his mind and its currents of thought and feeling. A rich subject, it is richly treated by this veteran scholar.

Higher Life of Chicago (The). By Thomas James Riley, Ph.D. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 6½×9½ in. 123 pages.

Hygiene of the Schoolroom (The). By William F. Barry, M.D. (Second Edition.) Illustrated. Silver, Burdett & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 195 pages.

Iliads of Homer (The). Translated by George Chapman. (Caxton Thin Paper Series.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 3¾×6¾ in. 700 pages. $1.25, net.

Introductory Physiology and Hygiene for Use in Primary Grades. By H. W. Conn, Ph.D. Illustrated. Silver, Burdett & Co., New York. 5½×7½ in. 152 pages.

In to the Yukon. By William Seymour Edwards. Illustrated. The Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati. 5¼×8 in. 319 pages. $1.50. (Postage, 12c.)

A readable narrative of a tour through the Klondike region and some parts of California and the Middle West, written originally as letters for the home circle, simple, straightforward, and possessing that charm of familiarity which belongs to such letters when well written, as these are.

L'Abbé Daniel. By André Theuriet. Edited by C. Fontaine, B.L., L.D. William R. Jenkins, New York. 4¾×7½ in. 128 pages. 60c.

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Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse (The). By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., Litt.D., L.L.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. 6×9¼ in. 446 pages.

Life Everlasting (The): Studies in the Subject of the Future. By Rev. David Purves, M.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4¾×7½ in. 265 pages. $1.50, net.

The subjects treated in this volume by a Presbyterian clergyman of Belfast, Ireland, are The Life Everlasting, The Resurrection (of Jesus and of believers), The Future Life, and Immortality in Literature. Its line of thought has been advanced upon by some other Christian writers, who no longer regard physical death as part of the penalty of sin, or think of those who have passed the bourn of death as waiting for spiritual bodies to be given them in a future resurrection, or ground the expectation of rising into the life of the world to come upon the single fact of Jesus' resurrection. The author thinks that "there is no subject more earnestly discussed at the present time by all classes of people" than this. Would that it were here as he reports it from there.

Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava (The). By Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C. Illustrated. In 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. $7.50, net.

Although Englishmen will necessarily find more to interest them than will Americans in this recital of the life and works of the late Lord Dufferin, there is much to warrant its importation. A central figure in many important episodes in the history of the last half of the nineteenth century, Lord Dufferin left more than a passing impression. It was his fortune to be Governor-General of Canada in the trying years immediately following Confederation; to serve as Viceroy of India during the critical period of the Russo-Afghan boundary controversy and the Burmese war; to act as Ambassador to St. Petersburg during the terrorism that had for climax the assassination of Alexander II.; as Ambassador to Constantinople in the time of the disputes arising out of the awards of the Berlin Congress, and during the uprising that led to the British occupation of Egypt; and as Ambassador to Rome and France when serious work was also to be done. In all these posts Lord Dufferin acquitted himself creditably and to the advantage of his country. From his journal and correspondence, and from the recollections of friends, Sir Alfred Lyall has, at the request of Lady Dufferin, compiled what is to be regarded as the official biography. It is official also in its discreetness—a discreetness at times carried to extremes, dimming perception—and in the highly eulogistic tone maintained throughout. Fortunately, autobiographical passages are frequent, and with their aid it is possible to balance the scales with approximate exactness. It may safely be said that Sir Alfred, while presenting a work obviously open to criticism, has also presented one of direct value to the historical student, and of interest to the general reader.

Literary Portraits. By Charles Whibley. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 313 pages. $2.50, net.

Mr. Whibley's exhibition in this volume will be cordially appreciated by lovers of good literature. Here is the mirth-loving Rabelais, with humor in the bone of wisdom; here next is Philippe de Comines, gentleman, statesman, historian, the friend and panegyrist of Louis XI. Then comes a less familiar figure, Philemon Holland, "the Translator Generall in his age" (the sixteenth century), scholar, kindly physician, admirable writer. After him, Montaigne; then, next to a chapter on "The Library of an Old Scholar" (the poet William Drummond), now housed in the University of Edinburgh, another old scholar, Robert Burton, famous for his "Anatomy of Melancholy," though himself "a prophet of the open air." The series ends with Jacques Casanova, actor, adventurer, gambler, scamp; whose exploits astonished Europe, and whose Memoirs brought him immediate fame. Mr. Whibley has finished these portraits with a skillful and graceful pen. Readers in a critical mood and readers for entertainment will both find his work attractive.

London and Its Environs: Handbook for Travelers. By Karl Baedeker. (Fourteenth Revised Edition.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4×6¼ in. 515 pages. $1.80, net.

This is the fourteenth revision of what has come to be an indispensable handbook for travelers in London.

Monk's Treasure (The). By George Horton. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 5×7½ in. 391 pages.

The hero of this crude romance is from Chicago; the heroine, a native serving-maid in the house of an American missionary stationed at one of the Grecian islands visited by the young Westerner while on a business trip abroad. It transpires that Polyxene is not what she seems, but a lady of high degree, whose right to title and inheritance—a vast treasure concealed in a monastery—is established by the gentleman from Chicago, who quite properly thereafter acquires both the duchess and the dollars.

Odysseys of Homer (The). Translated by George Chapman. (Caxton Thin Paper Series.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 3¾×6¾ in. 581 pages. $1.25, net.

Organ Gems. Selected by Albert W. Berg. William A. Pond & Co., New York.

Personality of God (The). By Lyman Abbott. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 29 pages. 30c.

This is the sermon preached by Dr. Abbott some time ago before the students of Harvard which excited some newspaper discussion because of the incomplete and misleading reports published.

Prison Life of Jefferson Davis. By Bvt. Lieut. Col. John J. Craven, M.D. The G. W. Dillingham Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 320 pages. $1.20, net.

Ready Money. By George H. Knox. (Personal Help Library.) The Personal Help Publishing Co., Des Moines, Iowa. 5×7¾ in. 317 pages. $1.68, net.

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Religious Controversies of Scotland (The). By Rev. Henry F. Henderson, M.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5⅛×8⅛ in. 274 pages. $1.75, net.

Such a book as this is an extended commentary on the psalmist's saying, quoted approvingly by St. Paul, "The Lord knoweth the reasonings of the wise that they are vain." It is profitable reading for the controversialist who cannot believe it possible that he can be mistaken. The story of the dozen storms that differences of opinion have generated in the Scottish Church during the last two centuries may also serve to point a lesson on the inevitable evils of organizing religious fellowship on a dogmatic basis. Some of the chapters in this volume relate to recent contentions about the higher criticism; others to conflicts equally serious in their time, but now forgotten. Mr. Henderson has done good service to the Church in calling her attention to this record of two centuries of theological battle.

Reuben: His Book. Published by the Author, Centralia, Mo. 5×7¾ in. 297 pages.

Songs: Lullaby. Unnumbered. By Rossetter G. Cole. (50c. each.) **Legacies. Cupid Swallowed.** By Mildred J. Hill. (50c. each.) **Christ the Lord is Risen.** By Adolph M. Foerster. (60c.) **You're in Love.** By Charles E. Wheeler, (50c.) Clayton F. Summy Co., Chicago.

Songs: Um Die Holzbank. Sweetheart, Sigh No More. O Thou Afflicted. By William Lewis Glover. Clayton F. Summy Co., Chicago.

Sonnets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti. Translated by John Addington Symonds. (Second Edition.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4¾×7½ in. 103 pages. $1.25.

The second edition of Mr. Symonds's translation of these sonnets into rhymed English needs no notice at this late date. The volume in which they are placed represents both dignity and taste; and Mr. Symonds's version of one of the best known of the sonnets, that to Vasari "On the Brink of Death," may be taken as an example of the character of his work:

Now hath my life across a stormy sea
Like a frail bark reached that wide port where all
Are bidden, ere the final reckoning fall
Of good and evil for eternity.
Now know I well how that fond phantasy
Which made my soul the worshiper and thrall
Of earthly art, is vain; how criminal
Is that which all men seek unwillingly.
Those amorous thoughts which were so lightly dressed,
What are they when the double death is nigh?
The one I know for sure, the other dread.
Painting nor sculpture now can lull to rest
My soul that turns to His great love on high,
Whose arms to clasp us on the cross were spread.

Story of the Congo Free State (The). By Henry Wellington Wack, F.R.G.S. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 6×9 in. 634 pages. $3.50, net.

This imposing volume is the outgrowth of a desire on the part of Mr. Wack to probe for himself the charges brought against King Leopold's administration of the Congo Free State, and to present to the American people the result of his investigations. Unfortunately, he makes it evident at the very outset that he did not approach his task with an altogether unbiased mind. For the purpose of his inquiry he determined to explore, not, as might be expected, the Congo region, but the archives in Brussels, whence he has drawn material satisfying him that the "organized campaign of slander now proceeding against the Congo Free State" has for basis Great Britain's desire to obtain possession of the territory in question. The reader will not be so readily convinced, for Mr. Wack's presentation of the case for the Belgians resolves itself into the familiar countercharges and an attack on the Congo Reform Association, alluded to disparagingly as an organization that Mr. E. D. Morel "has built around himself." In a prefatory note to the article on this subject contributed by Mr. Morel to a recent issue of The Outlook, we drew attention to the fact that the Congo Reform Association numbers among its supporters such men as Earl Beauchamp, the Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. John Morley, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, and Sir Gilbert Parker. An organization thus countenanced is certainly not to be considered in the light that Mr. Wack would have us view it. If his monograph fails as a refutation, it is not, however, without value as contributing useful information in regard to the history and resources of the Free State. It is liberally illustrated from photographs.

Tommy Carteret. By Justus Miles Forman. Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5×8¼ in. 347 pages. $1.50.

This is a story of vicarious punishment for wrong done a woman—a son's sacrifice of himself to shield his father's reputation—which has a fine sound; but there is nothing noble in the book to fill in this brave outline. Except to the author, who unmistakably indicates his opinion by irritating obtrusions in sympathetic pose, the admirable son, as he is here portrayed, appears a ridiculous, maundering young egotist. The book is full of sentimental absurdities and affectation, and in the end degenerates into a most unpleasant pseudo-pathological study.

Trend in Higher Education (The). By William Rainey Harper. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 5×8 in. 390 pages. $1.50, net.

The title prefixed to this series of papers gives no suggestion of the sociological importance of many of them. Their range is wide, as is shown by the inclusion of such papers as "Shall College Athletics be Endowed?" "Are School-teachers Underpaid?" What gives most vital value to the volume is its discussion of what the University and the Church have to do with the problems of democracy and religion, as well as with those of education. Amid ethical confusion, with which a higher spiritual element is struggling, stand the University, as the prophet of the democracy whose mission is righteousness, and the Church, which has alienated the masses, and also the wealthy, and is now alienating the intellectual class. But the problems of democracy cannot be solved without the aid of Christian ministers and students; yet many of these are ignorant

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that these problems exist. The theological seminaries are fifty years behind the age, and it is time to broaden the idea of the Christian ministry. It needs specialists as much as does the medical profession. The Church and its ministry both need to purge themselves of the aristocratic spirit, would they regain their proper influence in the molding of our civic life. Such criticisms from such a source cannot be waved aside; they may be thought too sweeping; exceptions exist; but Dr. Harper's "record of observations here and there" is a needed reveille.

Twenty-One Years in India. By Rev. J. L. Humphrey, M.D. Eaton & Mains, New York. 4½×7½ in. 283 pages. $1. (Postage, 10c.)

Uncooked Foods: How to Use Them. By Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Christian. The Health Culture Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 246 pages. $1.

Verre d'Eau (Le): Comédie en Cinq Actes. By Eugene Scribe. Edited by F. G. G. Schmidt, Ph.D. William R. Jenkins, New York. 3¾×7½ in. 129 pages. 25c.

Vicissitudes of Evangeline. By Elinor Glyn. Harper & Bros., New York. 4½×7½ in. 391 pages. $1.50.

This is undoubtedly sprightly and amusing, but, like "The Visits of Elizabeth," attributed to the same author, the supposedly ingenuous innocence of a young girl is sometimes used to cover a suggestiveness which is all the more harmful because it is veiled in gayety.

Wanderers (The). By Henry C. Rowland. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 392 pages. $1.50.

A light, breezy tale of the sea, with less of storm and stress than is common to novels of a marine cast, but sufficiently spiced with adventure to keep the interest alive. Dr. Rowland places a rollicking Irishman and a young American artist, of somewhat unfortunate temperament, on a yacht, starts them from Gibraltar for Singapore, and before allowing them to reach their destination provides them with all manner of surprising shipmates, agreeable and the reverse. The action includes dueling, piracy, and an abundance of love-making. Leaving numerous improbabilities out of mind, the book will serve well to while away a couple of hours.

Winged Helmet (The). By Harold Steele MacKaye. Illustrated. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 389 pages. $1.50.

A spirited romance of the Weymanesque school, its action taking place in sixteenth-century France. Characters and scenes are well imagined and the story ingeniously contrived; but the flow is unpleasantly interrupted by repeated transitions from the usual narrative form to diary extracts and the like.

World as Intention (The): A Contribution to Teleology. By L. P. Gratacap. Eaton & Mains, New York. 5¼×8¼ in. 346 pages. $1.25, net.

Under this title the author exhibits the movement which the world shows toward a purposed end. His aim is to help perplexed thinkers out of a state of mind which can neither get on without religion, nor get on with much that is claimed in the name of religion. The chief difficulty of thought today is, as he says, a realization of the supernatural, and he begins to open the way out by observing that "thought" itself is supernatural. But he does not get clear of the fundamental and common misconception that the supernatural is above nature; he does not see that it is really a higher order of nature, graded as this is, rank above rank, from base to top. His definition of supernatural processes as "those in which the interaction of two or more agents is scientifically inconceivable" would not long since have applied to the telephone. That moral nature is essentially supernatural to physical nature is a vital consideration that his argument omits. His conception of a miracle as involving the bestowment of new properties on matter will hardly help the thinker who is scientifically trained. These points, however, belong to the "prolegomena" of the discussion. Coming to this, one finds it based on the assumption that omnipotence could have realized its purposed end at a stroke but for the resistance encountered, which necessitates a slow and gradual overcoming of impediments. In view of all the varied defects and evils that perplex the thoughtful, the argument is that "intention exonerates God." No doubt it does; the plea is valid, though it starts in a dualistic view of God and the world that is quite untenable. The discussion goes on to apply the teleological idea in estimates of the Bible, of conduct, of the creed, and of the Church, and rightly insists that the true criterion is everywhere found in the tendency observable. The true conception of the Protestant principle of justification by faith as judgment according to purpose rather than performance is well brought out. In rather singular contrast with this is the adoption of the Roman Catholic principle that the divine intention as exhibited in the Church "is embodied in the sacramental system." Mr. Gratacap is certainly an independent and vigorous thinker; though his reading has evidently been more thorough in scientific lines than in philosophical. For lack of proportionate equipment in the latter his contribution to the problems of modern thought is hardly equal to the need.

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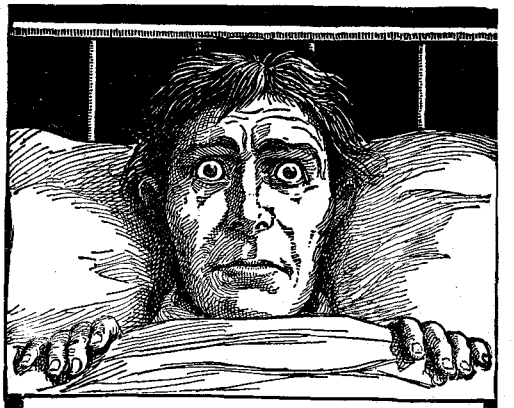

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